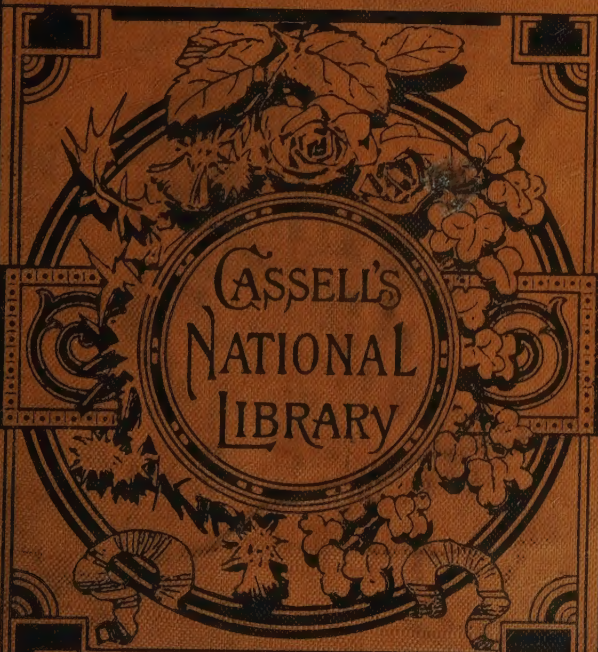


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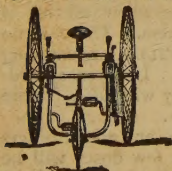
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TRANSLATED BY
J. & W. LANGHORNE.



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1886.

INTRODUCTION.

THE pair of Plutarch's Parallel Lives of Greeks and Romans given already in this Library—Cæsar and Alexander—included that from which Shakespeare drew matter for his play of *Julius Cæsar*. In the first of the two pairs of Lives now given, one Life includes the source of Shakespeare's play of *Coriolanus*, and Shakespeare's reading of the other doubtless affected the construction of his *Timon of Athens*, where the world-loving Alcibiades supplies a more absolute contrast to Timon the misanthrope than that which Plutarch finds, marked though it is, between the characters of Alcibiades and Coriolanus.

Of Plutarch's own life something has already been said, and attention is due now to the translator through whom he is here to be read.

John Langhorne was born in 1735, at Kirkby-Stephen, by the river Eden, in Westmoreland. His father, the Rev. Joseph Langhorne, of Winston, died when John and his brother William were children. He sent them to school at Appleby. John afterwards was usher in a school at Wakefield, and while acting as an usher he was admitted into holy orders. In 1759, when he was twenty-four years old, his mother died. In that year John Langhorne first published verses,

The Death of Adonis: a Pastoral Elegy, from Bion, in a few leaves of 4to; followed in the same year by *The Tears of the Muses*, which was a poem to the memory of Handel; and an *Ode to the River Eden*. In the same year also he became tutor to the sons of Mr. Robert Cracroft, of Hackthorne, in Lincolnshire, and in the following year, aged twenty-five, he published, at Lincoln, a volume of *Poems on Several Occasions*, for the benefit of a distressed gentleman. In the same year, 1760, he published also a *Hymn to Howe*.

Having then entered at Cambridge, to Clare Hall, John Langhorne wrote a poem on the accession of King George the Third, followed next year by an Ode on the king's marriage.

Soon afterwards he gave his life to Literature, and came to London, where he wrote in the *Monthly Review*, and published various poems, including an Eastern tale, *Solyman and Alcmena*, in 1762, and in 1763, *Genius and Valour, a Pastoral Poem, in Honour of a Sister Kingdom*, which was a defence of Scotland against Churchill's *Prophecy of Famine*. This tribute to Scottish worth was recognised by the University of Edinburgh, from which John Langhorne then received the complimentary degree of D.D.

His brother was now William Langhorne, M.A., and also sought a place among the minor English poets. He wrote a poem upon Job, and a poetical paraphrase of some parts of Isaiah.

John Langhorne was still active. In 1766, he collected his *Poetical Works* in two volumes duodecimo,

and his activity continued. He obtained about this time the rectory of Blagdon, in Somersetshire, and married, in 1767, Miss Cracroft, sister of his old pupils. His happiness was broken by her early death, and after a few years he married again. It was in 1770 that Dr. Langhorne published the translation of Plutarch's Lives from the original Greek—Sir Thomas North, whose translation Shakespeare read, had gone no farther than to the French of Amyot. In this translation John Langhorne and his brother William had worked together.

Among Langhorne's later poems was *The Country Justice*, Part I. published in 1774, Part II. in 1775, and Part III. in 1777. In 1777 Langhorne was presented to a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Wells, and he died at Blagdon House on the 1st of April, 1779.

Sir Walter Scott, telling in a letter how, when he was a lad of fifteen, he met Burns in Edinburgh in 1786-7, said, "Of course we youngsters sate silent, looked, and listened. The only thing I remember which was remarkable in Burns's manner, was the effect produced upon him by a print of Bunbury's, representing a soldier lying dead on the snow, his dog sitting in misery on one side, on the other his widow with a child in her arms. These lines were written beneath :—

Cold on Canadian hills or Minden's plain,
Perhaps that parent wept her soldier slain—
Bent o'er her babe, her eye dissolved in dew,
The big drops, mingling with the milk he drew,
Gave the sad presage of his future years,
The child of misery baptised in tears.

“ Burns seemed much affected by the print, or rather the ideas which it suggested to his mind. He actually shed tears. He asked whose the lines were, and it chanced that nobody but myself remembered that they occur in the half-forgotten poem of Langhorne's, called by the unpromising title of *The Justice of the Peace*. I whispered my information to a friend present, who mentioned it to Burns, who rewarded me with a look and a word, which, though of mere civility, I then received, and still recollect, with very great pleasure.”

Langhorne was not a great poet ; but a man ought to be something of a poet who translates Plutarch ; and that Langhorne was.

H. M.

ALCIBIADES.



THOSE who have searched into the pedigree of Alcibiades, say, that Eurysaces, the son of Ajax, was founder of the family ; and that by his mother's side he was descended from Alcmaeon : for Dinomache, his mother, was the daughter of Megacles, who was of that line. His father Clinias gained great honour in the sea-fight of Artemisium, where he fought in a galley fitted out at his own expense, and afterwards was slain in the battle of Coronæ, where the Bœotians won the day. Pericles and Aripbron, the sons of Xanthippus, and near relations to Alcibiades, were his guardians. It is said (and not without reason) that the affection and attachment of Socrates contributed much to his fame. For Nicias, Demosthenes, Lamachus, Phormio, Thrasybulus, Theramenes, were illustrious persons, and his contemporaries, yet we do not so much as know the name of the mother of either of them ; whereas we know even the nurse of Alcibiades, that she was of Lacedæmon, and that her name was Amycla ; as well as that Zopyrus was his school-master, the one being recorded by Antisthenes, and the other by Plato.

As to the beauty of Alcibiades, it may be sufficient to say, that it retained its charm through the several stages of childhood, youth, and manhood. For it is not universally true, what Euripides says,

The very autumn of a form once fine
Retains its beauties.

Yet this was the case of Alcibiades, amongst a few others, by reason of his natural vigour and happy constitution.

He had a lisping in his speech, which became him, and gave a grace and persuasive turn to his discourse. Aristophanes, in those verses wherein he ridicules Theorus, takes notice, that Alcibiades lisped, for instead of calling him *Corax*, *Raven*, he called him *Colax*, *Flatterer*; from whence the poet takes occasion to observe, that the term in that lisping pronunciation, too, was very applicable to him. With this agrees the satirical description which Archippus gives of the son of Alcibiades.

With sauntering step, to imitate his father,
The vain youth moves; his loose robe wildly floats;
He bends the neck: he lisps.

His manners were far from being uniform: nor is it strange that they varied according to the many vicissitudes and wonderful turns of his fortune. He was naturally a man of strong passions; but his ruling passion was an ambition to contend and overcome. This appears from what is related of his sayings when a boy. When hard pressed in wrestling, to prevent his being thrown, he bit the hands of his antagonist, who let go his hold, and said, "You bite, Alcibiades, like a woman." "No," says he, "like a lion."

One day he was playing at dice with other boys in the street; and when it came to his turn to throw, a loaded waggon came up. At first he called to the driver to stop, because he was to throw in the way over which the waggon was to pass. The rustic disregarded him and driving on, the other boys broke away; but Alcibiades threw himself upon his face directly before the waggon, and stretching himself out, bade the fellow drive on if he pleased. Upon this he was so startled that he stopped his horses, while those that saw it ran up to him with terror.

In the course of his education, he willingly took the lessons of his other masters, but refused learning to play upon the flute, which he looked upon as a mean art, and unbecoming a gentleman. "The use of the *plectrum* upon the lyre, he would say, has nothing in it that disorders the features or form, but a man is hardly to be known by his most intimate friends when he plays upon the flute. Besides, the lyre does not hinder the performer from speaking or accompanying it with a song, whereas, the flute so engages the mouth and the breath, that it leaves no possibility of speaking. Therefore, let the Theban youth pipe, who know not how to discourse : but we Athenians, according to the account of our ancestors, have Minerva for our patroness, and Apollo for our protector, one of whom threw away the flute, and the other stripped off the man's skin, who played upon it." Thus, partly by railery, and partly by argument, Alcibiades kept both himself and others from learning to play upon the flute, for it soon became the talk among the young men of condition, that Alcibiades was right in holding that art in abomination, and ridiculing those that practised it. Thus it lost its place in the number of liberal accomplishments and was universally exploded.

In the invective which Antipho wrote against Alcibiades, one story is, that when a boy, he ran away from his guardians to one of his friends named Democrates : and that Aripbron would have had proclamation made for him, had not Pericles diverted him from it, by saying, "If he is dead, we shall only find him one day the sooner for it ; if he is safe, it will be a reproach to him as long as he lives." Another story is, that he killed one of his servants with a stroke of his stick, in Sibyrtius's place of exercise. But, perhaps, we should not give entire credit to these things which were professedly written by an enemy to defame him,

Many persons of rank made their court to Alcibiades, but it is evident that they were charmed and attracted by the beauty of his person. Socrates was the only one whose regards were fixed upon the mind, and bore witness to the young man's virtue and ingenuity ; the rays of which he could distinguish through his fine form. And fearing lest the pride of riches and high rank, and the crowd of flatterers, both Athenians and strangers, should corrupt him, he used his best endeavours to prevent it, and took care that so hopeful a plant should not lose its fruit and perish in the very flower. If ever fortune so enclosed and fortified a man with what are called her goods, as to render him inaccessible to the incision-knife of philosophy, and the searching-probe of free advice, surely it was Alcibiades. From the first he was surrounded with pleasures, and a multitude of admirers determined to say nothing but what they thought would please, and to keep him from all admonition and reproof ; yet, by his native penetration he distinguished the value of Socrates, and attached himself to him, rejecting the rich and great who sued for his regard.

With Socrates he soon entered into the closest intimacy : and finding that he did not, like the rest of the unmanly crew, want improper favours, but that he studied to correct the errors of his heart and to cure him of his empty and foolish arrogance,

Then his crest fell, and all his pride was gone,
He drooped the conquered wing.

In fact, he considered the discipline of Socrates as a provision from heaven for the preservation and benefit of youth. Thus despising himself, admiring his friend, adoring his wisdom, and revering his virtue, he insensibly formed in his heart the image of love, or rather came

under the influence of that power, who, as Plato says, secures his votaries from vicious love. It surprised all the world to see him constantly sup with Socrates, take with him the exercise of wrestling, lodge in the same tent with him; while to his other admirers he was reserved and rough. Nay, to some he behaved with great insolence, to Anytus (for instance) the son of Anthemion. Anytus was very fond of him, and happening to make an entertainment for some strangers, he desired Alcibiades to give him his company. Alcibiades would not accept of the invitation, but having drank deep with some of his acquaintance at his own house, he went thither to play some frolic. The frolic was this: he stood at the door of the room where the guests were entertained, and seeing a great number of gold and silver cups upon the table, he ordered his servants to take half of them, and carry them to his house; and then, not vouchsafing so much as to enter into the room himself, as soon as he had done this, he went away. The company resented the affront, and said he had behaved very rudely and insolently to Anytus. "Not at all," said Anytus, "but rather kindly, since he has left us half, when he knew it was in his power to take the whole."

He behaved in the same manner to his other admirers, except only one stranger. This man (they tell us) was but in indifferent circumstances; for when he had sold all he could make up no more than the sum of one hundred *staters*; which he carried to Alcibiades, and begged of him to accept it. Alcibiades was pleased at the thing, and smiling, invited him to supper. After a kind reception and entertainment, he gave him the gold again, but required him to be present the next day when the public revenues were to be offered to farm, and to be sure and be the highest bidder. The man endeavouring to excuse himself because the rent would be many talents, Alci-

biades, who had a private pique against the old farmers, threatened to have him beaten if he refused. Next morning, therefore, the stranger appeared at the market-place, and offered a talent more than the former rent. The farmers uneasy and angry at this, called upon him to name his security, supposing that he could not find any. The poor man was, indeed, much startled and going to retire with shame, when Alcibiades who stood at some distance, cried out to the magistrates, "Set down my name; he is my friend, and I will be his security." When the old farmers of the revenue heard this, they were much perplexed; for their way was, with the profits of the present year to pay the rent of the preceding; so that seeing no other way to extricate themselves out of the difficulty, they applied to the stranger, in an humble strain, and offered him money. But Alcibiades would not suffer him to take less than a talent, which accordingly was paid. Having done him this service, he told him he might relinquish his bargain.

Though Socrates had many rivals, yet he kept possession of Alcibiades's heart by the excellence of his genius and the pathetic turn of his conversation, which often drew tears from his young companion. And though sometimes he gave Socrates the slip, and was drawn away by his flatterers, who exhausted all the art of pleasure for that purpose, yet the philosopher took care to hunt out his fugitive, who feared and respected none but him; the rest he held in great contempt. Hence that saying of Cleanthes, Socrates gains Alcibiades by the ear, and leaves to his rivals other parts of his body, with which he scorns to meddle. In fact, Alcibiades was very capable of being led by the allurements of pleasure; and what Thucydides says concerning his excesses in his way of living, gives occasion to believe so. Those who en-

deavoured to corrupt him attacked him on a still weaker side, his vanity and love of distinction, and led him into vast designs and unseasonable projects, persuading him, that as soon as he should apply himself to the management of public affairs, he would not only eclipse the other generals and orators, but surpass even Pericles himself, in point of reputation as well as interest, with the powers of Greece. But as iron, when softened by the fire, is soon hardened again and brought to a proper temper by cold water, so when Alcibiades was enervated by luxury, or swollen with pride, Socrates corrected and brought him to himself by his discourses ; for from him he learned the number of his defects and the imperfection of his virtue.

When he was past his childhood, happening to go into a grammar school, he asked the master for a volume of Homer ; and upon his making answer that he had nothing of Homer's, he gave him a box on the ear, and so left him. Another schoolmaster telling him he had Homer corrected by himself : "How !" said Alcibiades, "and do you employ your time in teaching children to read ? you who are able to correct Homer, might seem to be fit to instruct men."

One day wanting to speak to Pericles, he went to his house, and being told there that he was busied in considering how to give in his accounts to the people, and therefore not at leisure ; he said as he went away, "He had better consider how to avoid giving in any account at all."

Whilst he was yet a youth, he made the campaign at Potidæa, where Socrates lodged in the same tent with him, and was his companion in every engagement. In the principal battle they both behaved with great gallantry, but Alcibiades at last falling down wounded, Socrates advanced to defend him, which he did effectually

in the sight of the whole army, saving both him and his arms. For this the prize of valour was certainly due to Socrates, yet the generals inclined to give it to Alcibiades on account of his quality; and Socrates willing to encourage his thirst after true glory, was the first who gave his suffrage for him, and pressed them to adjudge him the crown and the complete suit of armour. On the other hand, at the battle of Delium, where the Athenians were routed, and Socrates, with a few others, was retreating on foot, Alcibiades observing it, did not pass him, but covered his retreat, and brought him safe off, though the enemy pressed furiously forward, and killed great numbers of the Athenians. But this happened a considerable time after.

To Hipponicus, the father of Callias, a man respectable both for his birth and fortune, Alcibiades one day gave a box on the ear; not that he had any quarrel with him or was heated by passion, but purely because, in a wanton frolic, he had agreed with his companions to do so. The whole city being full of the story of this insolence, and every body (as it was natural to expect), expressing some resentment, early next morning Alcibiades went to wait on Hipponicus, knocked at the door, and was admitted. As soon as he came into his presence, he stripped off his garment, and presenting his naked body, desired him to beat and chastise him as he pleased. But instead of that Hipponicus pardoned him, and forgot all his resentment; nay, some time after, he even gave him his daughter Hipparete in marriage. Some say it was not Hipponicus, but his son Callias, who gave Hipparete to Alcibiades, with ten talents to her portion; and that when she brought him a child he demanded ten talents more, as if he had taken her on that condition. Though this was but a groundless pretence, yet Callias, apprehen-

sive of some bad consequence from his artful contrivances, in a full assembly of the people declared, that if he should happen to die without children, Alcibiades should be his heir

Hipparete made a prudent and affectionate wife ; but at last growing very uneasy at her husband's associating with such a number of courtezans, both strangers and Athenians, she quitted his house and went to her brother's. Alcibiades went on with his debaucheries, and gave himself no pain about his wife ; but it was necessary for her, in order to a legal separation, to give in a bill of divorce to the archon, and to appear personally with it ; for the sending of it by another hand would not do. When she came to do this according to law, Alcibiades rushed in, caught her in his arms, and carried her through the market-place to his own house, no one presuming to oppose him, or to take her from him. From that time she remained with him until her death, which happened not long after, when Alcibiades was on his voyage to Ephesus. Nor does the violence used, in this case, seem to be contrary to the laws either of society in general, or of that republic in particular. For the law of Athens, in requiring her who wants to be divorced to appear publicly in person, probably intended to give the husband an opportunity to meet with her and to recover her.

Alcibiades had a dog of an uncommon size and beauty, which cost him seventy *minæ*, and yet his tail, which was his principal ornament, he caused to be cut off. Some of his acquaintance found great fault with his acting so strangely, and told him that all Athens rung with the story of his foolish treatment of the dog ; at which he laughed and said, " This is the very thing I wanted ; for I would have the Athenians talk of this, lest they should find something worse to say of me."

The first thing that made him popular, and introduced him into the administration, was his distributing of money, not by design but accident. Seeing one day a great crowd of people as he was walking along, he asked what it meant ; and being informed there was a donative made to the people, he distributed money too, as he went in amongst them. This meeting with great applause, he was so much delighted, that he forgot a quail which he had under his robe, and the bird, frightened with the noise, flew away. Upon this, the people set up still louder acclamations, and many of them assisted him to recover the quail. The man who did catch it and bring it to him, was one Antiochus, a pilot, for whom he had ever after a particular regard.

He had great advantages for introducing himself into the management of public affairs from his birth, his estate, his personal valour, and the number of his friends and relations : but what he chose above all the rest to recommend himself by to the people was the charms of his eloquence. That he was a fine speaker the comic writers bear witness ; and so does the prince of orators, in his oration against Midias, where he says that Alcibiades was the most eloquent man of his time. And if we believe Theophrastus, a curious searcher into antiquity, and more versed in history than the other philosophers. Alcibiades had a peculiar happiness of invention, and readiness of ideas which eminently distinguished him. But as his care was employed not only upon the matter but the expression, and he had not the greatest facility in the latter, he often hesitated in the midst of a speech, not hitting upon the word he wanted, and stopping until it occurred to him.

He was famed for his breed of horses and the number of chariots. For no one beside himself, whether private

person or king, ever sent seven chariots at one time to the Olympic games. The first, the second, and the fourth prizes, according to Thucydides, or the third, as Euripides relates it, he bore away at once, which exceeds every thing performed by the most ambitious in that way. Euripides thus celebrates his success :

Great son of Clinias, I record thy glory,
First on the dusty plain
The threefold prize to gain ;
What hero boasts thy praise in Grecian story ?
Twice does the trumpet's voice proclaim
Around the plausive cirque thy honoured name ;
Twice on thy brow was seen
The peaceful olive's green,
The glorious palm of easy purchased fame.

The emulation which several Grecian cities expressed, in the presents they made him, gave a still greater lustre to his success. Ephesus provided a magnificent pavilion for him ; Chios was at the expense of keeping his horses and beasts for sacrifice ; and Lesbos found him in wine and everything necessary for the most elegant public table. Yet, amidst this success, he escaped not without censure, occasioned either by the malice of his enemies, or by his own misconduct. It seems there was at Athens one Diomedes, a man of good character and a friend of Alcibiades, who was very desirous of winning a prize at the Olympic games ; and being informed that there was a chariot to be sold, which belonged to the city of Argos, where Alcibiades had a strong interest, he persuaded him to buy it for him. Accordingly he did buy it, but kept it for himself, leaving Diomedes to vent his rage, and to call gods and men to bear witness of the injustice. For this there seems to have been an action brought against him ; and there is extant an oration concerning a chariot, written by Isocrates, in defence of

Alcibiades, then a youth ; but there the plaintiff is named Tisius, not Diomedes.

Alcibiades was very young when he first applied himself to the business of the republic, and yet he soon showed himself superior to the other orators. The persons capable of standing in some degree of competition with him were Phæax the son of Erasistratus, and Nicias the son of Niceratus. The latter was advanced in years, and one of the best generals of his time. The former was but a youth, like himself, just beginning to make his way ; for which he had the advantage of high birth ; but in other respects, as well as in the art of speaking, was inferior to Alcibiades. He seemed fitter for soliciting and persuading in private, then for stemming the torrent of a public debate ; in short, he was one of those of whom Eupolis says, " True, he can talk, and yet he is no speaker." There is extant an oration against Alcibiades and Phæax, in which, amongst other things, it is alleged against Alcibiades that, he used at his table many of the gold and silver vessels provided for the sacred processions, as if they had been his own.

There was at Athens one Hyperbolus, of the ward of Perithois, whom Thucydides makes mention of as a very bad man, and who was a constant subject of ridicule for the comic writers. But he was unconcerned at the worst things they could say of him, and being regardless of honour he was also insensible of shame. This, though really impudence and folly, is by some people called fortitude and a noble daring. But, though no one liked him, the people nevertheless made use of him when they wanted to strike at persons in authority. At his instigation, the Athenians were ready to proceed to the ban of *ostracism*, by which they pull down and expel such of the citizens as are distinguished by their dignity and

power, therein consulting their envy rather than their fear.

As it was evident that this sentence was levelled against one of the three, Phæax, Nicias, or Alcibiades, the latter took care to unite the contending parties, and leaguings with Nicias, caused the *ostracism* to fall upon Hyperbolus himself. Some say, it was not Nicias, but Phæax, with whom Alcibiades joined interest, and by whose assistance he expelled their common enemy, when he expected nothing less. For no vile or infamous person had ever undergone that punishment. So Plato, the comic poet, assures us, thus speaking of Hyperbolus :

Well had the caitiff earned his banishment,
But not by ostracism ; that sentence sacred
To dangerous eminence.

But we have elsewhere given a more full account of what history has delivered down to us concerning the matter.

Alcibiades was not less disturbed at the great esteem in which Nicias was held by the enemies of Athens, than at the respect which the Athenians themselves paid him. The rights of hospitality had long subsisted between the family of Alcibiades and the Lacedæmonians, and he had taken particular care of such of them as were made prisoners at Pylos ; yet when they found that it was chiefly by the means of Nicias that they obtained a peace and recovered the captives, their regards centred in him. It was a common observation among the Greeks, that Pericles had engaged them in a war, and Nicias had set them free from it ; nay, the peace was even called the Nician peace. Alcibiades was very uneasy at this, and out of envy to Nicias, determined to break the league.

As soon then as he perceived that the people of Argos both feared and hated the Spartans, and consequently

wanted to get clear of all connection with them, he privately gave them hopes of assistance from Athens ; and both by his agents and in person, he encouraged the principal citizens not to entertain any fear, or to give up any point, but to apply to the Athenians, who were almost ready to repent of the peace they had made, and would soon seek occasion to break it.

But after the Lacedæmonians had entered into alliance with the Bœotians, and had delivered Panactus to the Athenians, not with its fortifications, as they ought to have done, but quite dismantled, he took the opportunity, while the Athenians were incensed at this proceeding, to inflame them still more. At the same time he raised a clamour against Nicias, alleging things which had a face of probability ; for he reproached him with having neglected, when commander-in-chief, to make that party prisoners who were left by the enemy in Sphacteria, and with releasing them, when taken by others, to ingratiate himself with the Lacedæmonians. He farther asserted, that though Nicias had an interest with the Lacedæmonians, he would not make use of it to prevent their entering into the confederacy with the Bœotians and Corinthians but that when an alliance was offered to the Athenians by any of the Grecian states, he took care to prevent their accepting it, if it were likely to give umbrage to the Lacedæmonians.

Nicias was greatly disconcerted : but at that very juncture it happened that ambassadors from Lacedæmon arrived with moderate proposals, and declared that they had full powers to treat and decide all differences in an equitable way. The senate was satisfied, and next day the people were to be convened : but Alcibiades, dreading the success of that audience, found means to speak with the ambassadors in the mean time ; and thus he addressed

them : "Men of Lacedæmon, what is it you are going to do? Are not you apprised that the behaviour of the senate is always candid and humane to those who apply to it, whereas the people are haughty and expect great concessions? If you say that you are come with full powers, you will find them intractable and extravagant in their demands. Come, then, retract that imprudent declaration, and if you desire to keep the Athenians within the bounds of reason, and not to have terms extorted from you, which you cannot approve, treat with them as if you had not a discretionary commission. I will use my best endeavours in favour of the Lacedæmonians." He confirmed his promise with an oath, and thus drew them over from Nicias to himself. In Alcibiades they now placed an entire confidence, admiring both his understanding and address in business, and regarding him as a very extraordinary man.

Next day the people assembled, and the ambassadors were introduced. Alcibiades asked them, in an obliging manner, what their commission was, and they answered, that they did not come as plenipotentiaries. Then he began to rave and storm, as if he had received an injury, not done one ; and calling them faithless, prevaricating men, who were come neither to do nor say anything honourable. The senate was incensed ; the people were enraged ; and Nicias, who was ignorant of the deceitful contrivance of Alcibiades, was filled with astonishment and confusion at this change.

The proposals of the ambassadors thus rejected, Alcibiades was declared general, and soon engaged the Argives, the Mantineans and Eleans as allies to the Athenians. Nobody commended the manner of this transaction, but the effect was very great, since it divided and embroiled almost all Peloponnesus, in one day lifted so many arms

against the Lacedæmonians at Mantinea, and removed to so great a distance from Athens the scene of war ; by which the Lacedæmonians, if victorious, could gain no great advantage, whereas a miscarriage would have risked the very being of their state.

Soon after this battle at Mantinea, the principal officers of the Argive army attempted to abolish the popular government in Argos, and to take the administration into their own hands. The Lacedæmonians espoused the design, and assisted them to carry it into execution. But the people took up arms again, and defeated their new masters ; and Alcibiades coming to their aid, made the victory more complete. At the same time he persuaded them to extend their walls down to the sea, that they might always be in a condition to receive succours from the Athenians. From Athens he sent them carpenters and masons, exerting himself greatly on this occasion, which tended to increase his personal interest and power, as well as that of his country. He advised the people of Patræ, too, to join their city to the sea by long walls. And somebody observing to the Patrensiens, " That the Athenians would one day swallow them up ; " " Possibly it may be so," said Alcibiades, " but they will begin with the feet, and do it by little and little, whereas the Lacedæmonians will begin with the head, and do it all at once." He exhorted the Athenians to assert the empire of the land, as well as of the sea ; and was ever putting the young warriors in mind to show by their deeds that they remembered the oath they had taken in the temple of Agraulos. The oath is, that they will consider wheat, barley, vine, and olives as the bounds of Attica ; by which it is insinuated, that they should endeavour to possess themselves of all lands that are cultivated and fruitful.

But these his great abilities in politics, his eloquence, his reach of genius, and keenness of apprehension, were tarnished by his luxurious living, his drinking and debauches, his effeminacy of dress, and his insolent profusion. He wore a purple robe with a long train, when he appeared in public. He caused the planks of his galley to be cut away, that he might lie the softer, his bed not being placed upon the boards, but hanging upon girths. And in the wars he bore a shield of gold, which had none of the usual ensigns of his country, but in their stead, a cupid bearing a thunderbolt. The great men of Athens saw his behaviour with uneasiness and indignation, and even dreaded the consequence. They regarded his foreign manners, his profusion and contempt of the laws, as so many means to make himself absolute. And Aristophanes well expresses how the bulk of the people were disposed towards him :

They love, they hate, but cannot live without him.

And again he satirizes him still more severely by the following allusion :

Nurse not a lion's whelp within your walls,
But if he is brought up there, soothe the brute.

The truth is, his prodigious liberality, the games he exhibited, and the other extraordinary instances of his munificence to the people, the glory of his ancestors, the beauty of his person, the force of his eloquence, together with his heroic strength, his valour, and experience in war, so gained upon the Athenians, that they connived at his errors, and spoke of them with all imaginable tenderness, calling them sallies of youth, and good-humoured frolics. Such were his confining Agatharcus, the painter, until he had painted his house, and then dismissing him with a handsome present ; his giving a box on the ear to

Taureus, who exhibited games in opposition to him, and vied with him for the preference: and his taking one of the captive Melian women for his mistress, and bringing up a child he had by her. These were what they called his good-humoured frolics. But surely we cannot bestow that appellation upon the slaughtering of all the males in the isle of Melos who had arrived at years of puberty, which was in consequence of a decree that he promoted. Again, when Aristophon had painted the courtesan Nemea with Alcibiades in her arms, many of the people eagerly crowded to see it; but such of the Athenians as were more advanced in years were much displeased, and considered these as sights fit only for a tyrant's court, and as insults on the laws of Athens. Nor was it ill-observed by Arcestracus, "that Greece would not bear another Alcibiades." When Timon, famed for his misanthropy, saw Alcibiades, after having gained his point, conducted home with great honour from the place of assembly, he did not shun him, as he did other men, but went up to him, and shaking him by the hand, thus addressed him, "Go on, my brave boy, and prosper, for your prosperity will bring on the ruin of all this crowd." This occasioned various reflections—some laughed, some railed, and others were extremely moved at the saying. So various were the judgments formed of Alcibiades, by reason of the inconsistency of his character.

In the time of Pericles the Athenians had a desire after Sicily, and when he had paid the last debt to nature, they attempted it; frequently under pretence of succouring their allies, sending aids of men and money to such of the Sicilians as were attacked by the Syracusans. This was a step to greater armaments. But Alcibiades inflamed this desire to an irresistible degree, and persuaded them not to attempt the island in part, and by little and little, but to

send a powerful fleet entirely to subdue it. He inspired the people with hopes of great things, and indulged himself in expectations still more lofty ; for he did not, like the rest, consider Sicily as the end of his wishes, but rather as an introduction to the mighty expeditions he had conceived. And while Nicias was dissuading the people from the siege of Syracuse, as a business too difficult to succeed in, Alcibiades was dreaming of Carthage and of Libya : and after these were gained, had designed to grasp Italy and Peloponnesus, regarding Sicily as little more than a magazine for provisions and warlike stores.

The young men immediately entered into his schemes, and listened with great attention to those who, under the sanction of age, related wonders concerning the intended expeditions ; so that many of them sat whole days in the places of exercise, drawing in the dust the figure of the island, and plans of Libya and Carthage. However, we are informed that Socrates, the philosopher, and Meton, the astrologer, were far from expecting that these wars would turn to the advantage of Athens ; the former, it should seem, influenced by some prophetic notices, with which he was favoured by the genius who attended him ; and the latter, either by reasonings which led him to fear what was to come, or else by knowledge with which his art supplied him. Be that as it may, Meton feigned himself mad, and taking a flaming torch, attempted to set his house on fire. Others say that he made use of no such pretence, but burned down his house in the night, and in the morning went and begged of the people to excuse his son from that campaign, that he might be a comfort to him under his misfortune. By this artifice he imposed upon them, and gained his point.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals, much against his inclination ; for he would have declined the command

if it had been only on account of his having such a colleague. The Athenians, however, thought the war would be better conducted if they did not give free scope to the impetuosity of Alcibiades, but tempered his boldness with the prudence of Nicias. For as to the third general, Lamachus, though well advanced in years, he did not seem to come at all short of Alcibiades in heat and rashness.

When they came to deliberate about the number of the troops, and the necessary preparations for the armament, Nicias again opposed their measures, and endeavoured to prevent the war. But Alcibiades, replying to his arguments, and carrying all before him, the orator Demostratus proposed a decree that the generals should have the absolute direction of the war, and of all the preparations for it. When the people had given their assent, and everything was got ready for setting sail, unlucky omens occurred, even on a festival which was celebrated at that time. It was the feast of Adonis; the women walked in procession with images, which represented the dead carried out to burial, acting the lamentations, and singing the mournful dirges usual on such occasions.

Add to this the mutilating and disfiguring of almost all the statues of Mercury, which happened in one night—a circumstance which alarmed even those who had long despised things of that nature. It was imputed to the Corinthians, of whom the Syracusans were a colony: and they were supposed to have done it, in hopes that such a prodigy might induce the Athenians to desist from the war. But the people paid little regard to this insinuation, or to the discourses of those who said that there was no manner of ill presage in what had happened, and that it was nothing but the wild frolic of a parcel of young fellows, flushed with wine, and bent on some extravagance. Indignation and fear made them take this event not only

for a bad omen, but for the consequence of a plot which aimed at great matters; and therefore both senate and people assembled several times within a few days, and very strictly examined every suspicious circumstance.

In the meantime, the demagogue Androcles produced some Athenian slaves and certain sojourners, who accused Alcibiades and his friends of defacing some other statues, and of mimicking the sacred mysteries in one of their drunken revels: on which occasion, they said, one Theodorus represented the herald, Polytion the torch-bearer, and Alcibiades the high-priest, his other companions attending as persons initiated, and therefore called *Mystæ*. Such was the import of the deposition of Thessalus the son of Cimon, who accused Alcibiades of impiety towards the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine. The people being much provoked at Alcibiades, and Androcles, his bitterest enemy, exasperating them still more, at first he was somewhat disconcerted. But when he perceived that the seamen and soldiers too intended for the Sicilian expedition were on his side, and heard a body of Argives and Mantineans, consisting of a thousand men, declare that they were willing to cross the seas, and to run the risk of a foreign war for the sake of Alcibiades, but that if any injury were done to him, they would immediately march home again, then he recovered his spirits, and appeared to defend himself. It was now his enemies' turn to be discouraged, and to fear that the people, on account of the need they had of him, would be favourable in their sentence. To obviate this inconvenience, they persuaded certain orators, who were not reputed to be his enemies, but hated him as heartily as the most professed ones, to move it to the people, "That it was extremely absurd that a general who was invested with a discretionary power and a very important command, when the troops were

collected, and the allies all ready to sail, should lose time, while they were casting lots for judges, and filling the glasses with water, to measure out the time of his defence. In the name of the gods let him sail, and when the war is concluded, be accountable to the laws, which will still be the same."

Alcibiades easily saw their malicious drift in wanting to put off the trial, and observed, "That it would be an intolerable hardship to leave such accusations and calumnies behind him, and be sent out with so important a commission, while he was in suspense as to his own fate. That he ought to suffer death, if he could not clear himself of the charge; but if he could prove his innocence, justice required that he should be set free, from all fear of false accusers, before they sent him against their enemies." But he could not obtain that favour. He was indeed ordered to set sail, which he accordingly did, together with his colleagues, having near a hundred and forty galleys in his company, five thousand one hundred heavy-armed soldiers, and about a thousand three hundred archers, slingers, and others light-armed, with suitable provisions and stores.

Arriving on the coast of Italy, he landed at Rhegium. There he gave his opinion as to the manner in which the war should be conducted, and was opposed by Nicias; but as Lamachus agreed with him, he sailed to Sicily, and made himself master of Catana. This was all he performed, being soon sent for by the Athenians to take his trial. At first, as we have observed, there was nothing against him but slight suspicions, and the depositions of slaves and persons who sojourned in Athens. But his enemies took advantage of his absence to bring new matter of impeachment, adding to the mutilating of the statues, his sacrilegious behaviour with respect to the

mysteries, and alleging that both these crime flowed from the same source—a conspiracy to change the government. All that were accused of being any ways concerned in it, they committed to prison unheard; and they repented exceedingly that they had not immediately brought Alcibiades to his trial, and got him condemned upon so heavy a charge. While this fury lasted, every relation, every friend and acquaintance of his was very severely dealt with by the people.

Thucydides has omitted the names of the accusers, but others mention Dioclide and Teucer. So Phrynichus, the comic poet—

Good HERMES, pray, beware a fall; nor break
Thy marble nose, lest some false Dioclide
Once more his shafts in fatal poison drench.

MERC. I will. Nor e'er again shall that informer,
Teucer, that faithless stranger, boast from me
Rewards for perjury.

Indeed, no clear or strong evidence was given by the informers. One of them being asked how he could distinguish the faces of those who disfigured the statues, answered, that he discerned them by the light of the moon: which was a plain falsity, for it was done at the time of the moon's change. All persons of understanding exclaimed against such baseness; but this detection did not in the least pacify the people; they went on with the same rage and violence with which they had begun, taking informations, and committing all to prison whose names were given in.

Among those that were then imprisoned, in order to their trial, was the orator Andocides, whom Hellanicus the historian reckons among the descendants of Ulysses. He was thought to be no friend to a popular government,

but a favourer of oligarchy. What contributed not a little to his being suspected of having some concern in defacing the *Hermæ*, was that the great statue of Mercury, which was placed near his house, being consecrated to that god by the tribe called the *Ægeis*, was almost the only one amongst the more remarkable which was left entire. Therefore to this day it is called the *Hermes of Andocides*. and that title universally prevails, though the inscription does not agree with it.

It happened that among those who were imprisoned on the same account, *Andocides* contracted an acquaintance and friendship with one *Timæus*; a man not equal in rank to himself, but of uncommon parts and a daring spirit. He advised *Andocides* to accuse himself and a few more; because the decree promised impunity to any one that would confess, and inform, whereas the event of the trial was uncertain to all, and much to be dreaded by such of them as were persons of distinction. He represented that it was better to save his life by a falsity, than to suffer an infamous death as one really guilty of the crime; and that with respect to the public, it would be an advantage to give up a few persons of dubious character, in order to rescue many good men from an enraged populace.

Andocides was prevailed upon by these arguments of *Timæus*; and informing against himself and some others, enjoyed the impunity promised by the decree; but all the rest whom he named were capitally punished, except a few that fled. Nay, to procure the greater credit to his depositions, he accused even his own servants.

However, the fury of the people was not so satisfied; but turning from the persons who had disfigured the *Hermæ*, as if it had reposed awhile only to recover its strength, it fell totally upon *Alcibiades*. At last they

sent the Salaminian galley to fetch him, artfully enough ordering their officer not to use violence, or to lay hold of his person, but to behave to him with civility, and to acquaint him with the people's orders that he should go and take his trial, and clear himself before them. For they were apprehensive of some tumult and mutiny in the army, now it was in an enemy's country, which Alcibiades, had he been so disposed, might have raised with all the ease in the world. Indeed, the soldiers expressed great uneasiness at his leaving them, and expected that the war would be spun out to a great length by the dilatory counsels of Nicias, when the spur was taken away. Lamachus, indeed, was bold and brave, but he was wanting both in dignity and weight, by reason of his poverty.

Alcibiades immediately embarked : the consequence of which was, that the Athenians could not take Messena. There were persons in the town ready to betray it, whom Alcibiades perfectly knew, and as he apprised some that were friends to the Syracusans of their intention, the affair miscarried.

As soon as he arrived at Thurii, he went on shore, and concealing himself there, eluded the search which was made after him. But some persons knowing him and saying, "Will not you, then, trust your country?" he answered, "As to anything else I will trust her; but with my life I would not trust even my mother, lest she should mistake a black bean for a white one." Afterwards being told that the republic had condemned him to die, he said, "But I will make them find that I am alive."

The information against him ran thus : "Thessalus, the son of Cimon, of the ward of Lacias, accuseth Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, of the ward of Scambonis, of sacrilegiously offending the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine.

by counterfeiting their mysteries, and showing them to his companions in his own house. Wearing such a robe as the high-priest does while he shows the holy things, he called himself high-priest, as he did Polytion, torch-bearer, and Theodorus, of the ward of Phygea, herald ; and the rest of his companions he called *persons initiated*, and *brethren of the secret* ; herein acting contrary to the rules and ceremonies established by the Eumolpidæ, the heralds and priests at Eleusis." As he did not appear, they condemned him, confiscated his goods, and ordered all the priests and priestesses to denounce an execration against him ; which was denounced accordingly by all but Theno, the daughter of Menon, priestess of the temple of Agraulos, who excused herself, alleging, that she was a priestess for prayer, not for execration.

While these degrees and sentences were passing against Alcibiades, he was at Argos ; having quitted Thurii, which no longer afforded him a safe asylum, to come into Peloponnesus. Still dreading his enemies, and giving up all hopes of being restored to his country, he sent to Sparta to desire permission to live there under the protection of the public faith, promising to serve that state more effectually, now he was their friend, than he had annoyed them, whilst their enemy. The Spartans granting him a safe conduct, and expressing their readiness to receive him, he went there with pleasure. One thing he soon effected, which was to procure succours for Syracuse without farther hesitation or delay, having persuaded them to send Gylippus thither, to take upon him the direction of the war, and to crush the Athenian power in Sicily. Another thing which he persuaded them to was, to declare war against the Athenians, and to begin its operations on the continent ; and the third, which was the most important of all, was to get Decelea fortified ; for

this being in the neighbourhood of Athens, was productive of great mischief to that commonwealth.

These measures procured Alcibiades the public approbation at Sparta, and he was no less admired for his manner of living in private. By conforming to their diet and other austerities, he charmed and captivated the people. When they saw him close shaved, bathing in cold water, feeding on their coarse bread, or eating their black broth, they could hardly believe that such a man had ever kept a cook in his house, seen a perfumer, or worn a robe of Milesian purple. It seems, that amongst his other qualifications, he had the very extraordinary art of engaging the affections of those with whom he conversed, by imitating and adopting their customs and way of living. Nay, he turned himself into all manners of forms with more ease than the chameleon changes his colour. It is not, we are told, in that animal's power, to assume a white, but Alcibiades could adapt himself either to good or bad, and did not find anything which he attempted impracticable. Thus, at Sparta he was all for exercise, frugal in his diet, and severe in his manners. In Asia he was as much for mirth and pleasure, luxury, and ease. In Thrace, again, riding and drinking were his favourite amusements; and in the palace of Tissaphernes, the Persian grandee, he outvied the Persians themselves in pomp and splendour. Not that he could with so much ease change his real manners, or approve in his heart the form which he assumed; but because he knew that his native manners would be unacceptable to those whom he happened to be with, he immediately conformed to the ways and fashions of whatever place he came to. When he was at Lacedæmon, if you regarded only his outside, you would say as the proverb does, This is not the son of Achilles, but Achilles himself; this man has surely been brought up

under the eye of Lysurgus ; but then if you looked more nearly into his disposition and his actions, you would exclaim, with Electra in the poet, The same weak woman still ! For while king Agis was employed in a distant expedition, he corrupted his wife Timæa so effectually, that she was with child by him, and did not pretend to deny it ; and when she was delivered of a son, though in public she called him Leotychidas, yet in her own house she whispered to her female friends and to her servants, that his true name was Alcibiades. To such a degree was the woman transported by her passion. And Alcibiades himself, indulging his vein of mirth, used to say, " His motive was not to injure the king, or to satisfy his appetite, but that his offspring might one day sit on the throne of Lacedæmon." Agis had information of these matters from several hands, and he was the more ready to give credit to them, because they agreed with the time. Terrified with an earthquake, he had quitted his wife's chamber, to which he returned not for the next ten months ; at the end of which Leotychidas being born, he declared the child was not his ; and for this reason he was never suffered to inherit the crown of Sparta.

After the miscarriage of the Athenians in Sicily, the people of Chios, of Lesbos, and Cyzicum, sent to treat with the Spartans about quitting the interests of Athens, and putting themselves under the protection of Sparta. The Boeotians, on this occasion, solicited for the Lesbians, and Pharnabazus for the people of Cyzicum, but at the persuasion of Alcibiades, succours were sent to those of Chios before all others. He likewise passed over into Ionia, and prevailed with almost all that country to revolt, and attending the Lacedæmonian generals in the execution of most of their commissions, he did great prejudice to the Athenians.

But Agis, who was already his enemy on account of the injury done to his bed, could not endure his glory and prosperity ; for most of the present successes were ascribed to Alcibiades. The great and the ambitious among the Spartans were indeed, in general, touched with envy ; and had influence enough with the civil magistrates, to procure orders to be sent to their friends in Ionia to kill him. But timely foreseeing his danger, and cautioned by his fears, in every step he took he still served the Lacedæmonians, taking care all the while not to put himself in their power. Instead of that, he sought the protection of Tissaphernes, one of the grandees of Persia, or lieutenants of the king. With this Persian he soon attained the highest credit and authority : for himself a very subtle and insincere man, he admired the art and keenness of Alcibiades. Indeed by the elegance of his conversation and the charms of his politeness, every man was gained, all hearts were touched. Even those that feared and envied him, were not insensible to pleasure in his company ; and while they enjoyed it their resentment was disarmed. Tissaphernes, in all other cases savage in his temper, and the bitterest enemy that Greece experienced among the Persians, gave himself up, notwithstanding, to the flatteries of Alcibiades, insomuch that he even vied with and exceeded him in address. For of all his gardens that which excelled in beauty, which was remarkable for the salubrity of its streams and the freshness of its meadows, which was set off with pavilions royally adorned, and retirements finished in the most elegant taste, he distinguished by the name of ALCIBIADES ; and every one continued to give it that appellation.

Rejecting, therefore, the interests of Lacedæmon, and fearing that people as treacherous to him, he represented them and their king Agis, in a disadvantageous light to

Tissaphernes. He advised him not to assist them effectually, nor absolutely to ruin the Athenians, but to send his subsidies to Sparta with a sparing hand ; that so the two powers might insensibly weaken and consume each other, and both at last be easily subjected to the king. Tissaphernes readily followed his counsels, and it was evident to all the world that he held him in the greatest admiration and esteem ; which made him equally considerable with the Greeks of both parties. The Athenians repented of the sentence they had passed upon him, because they had suffered for it since ; and Alcibiades, on his side, was under some fear and concern, lest, if their republic were destroyed, he should fall into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, who hated him.

At that time the whole strength of the Athenians lay at Samos. With their ships sent out from thence, they recovered some of the towns which had revolted, and others they kept to their duty ; and at sea they were in some measure able to make head against their enemies. But they were afraid of Tissaphernes, and the Phœnician fleet of a hundred and fifty ships, which were said to be coming against them ; for against such a force they could not hope to defend themselves. Alcibiades, apprised of this, privately sent a messenger to the principal Athenians at Samos, to give them hopes that he would procure them the friendship of Tissaphernes ; not to recommend himself to the people whom he could not trust, but to oblige the nobility, if they would but exert their superiority, repress the insolence of the commonalty, and taking the government into their own hands, by that means save their country.

All the officers readily embraced his proposal, except Phrynichus, who was of the ward of Dirades. He alone suspected, what was really the case, that it was a matter

of very little consequence to Alcibiades whether an oligarchy or democracy prevailed in Athens ; that it was his business to get himself recalled by any means whatever, and that, therefore, by his invectives against the people, he wanted only to insinuate himself into the good graces of the nobility. Upon these reasons proceeded the opposition of Phrynichus ; but seeing his opinion disregarded, and that Alcibiades must certainly become his enemy, he gave secret intelligence to Astyochus, the enemy's admiral, of the double part which Alcibiades acted, advising him to beware of his designs, and to secure his person. But he knew not that while he was betraying, he was himself betrayed. For Astyochus, wanting to make his court to Tissaphernes, informed Alcibiades of the affair, who, he knew, had the ear of that grandee.

Alcibiades immediately sent proper persons to Samos with an accusation against Phrynichus ; who, seeing no other resource, as everybody was against him, and expressed great indignation at his behaviour, attempted to cure one evil with another and a greater. For he sent to Astyochus to complain of his revealing his secret, and to offer to deliver up to him the whole Athenian fleet and army. This treason of Phrynichus, however, did no injury to the Athenians, because it was again betrayed by Astyochus ; for he laid the whole matter before Alcibiades. Phrynichus had the sagacity to foresee, and expect another accusation from Alcibiades, and to be beforehand with him, he himself forewarned the Athenians that the enemy would endeavour to surprise them, and therefore desired them to be upon their guard, to keep on board their ships, and to fortify their camp.

While the Athenians were doing this, letters came from Alcibiades again, advising them to beware of Phrynichus, who had undertaken to betray their fleet to the enemy ; but

they gave no credit to these dispatches, supposing that Alcibiades, who perfectly knew the preparations and intentions of the enemy, abused that knowledge to the raising of such a calumny against Phrynichus. Yet afterwards, when Phrynichus was stabbed in full assembly by one of Hermon's soldiers who kept guard that day, the Athenians taking cognizance of the matter, after his death, condemned Phrynichus as guilty of treason, and ordered Hermon and his party to be crowned for despatching a traitor.

The friends of Alcibiades, who now had a superior interest at Samos, sent Pisander to Athens, to change the form of government, by encouraging the nobility to assume it, and to deprive the people of their power and privileges, as the condition upon which Alcibiades would procure them the friendship and alliance of Tissaphernes. This was the colour of the pretence made use of by those who wanted to introduce an oligarchy. But when that body, which were called the five thousand, but in fact were only four hundred, had got the power into their hands, they paid but little attention to Alcibiades, and carried on the war but slowly: partly distrusting the citizens who did not yet relish the new form of government, and partly hoping that the Lacedæmonians, who were always inclined to favour an oligarchy, would not press them with their usual vigour.

Such of the commonalty as were at home were silent through fear, though much against their will; for a number of those who had openly opposed the four hundred, were put to death. But, when they that were at Samos were informed of the affair, they were highly incensed at it, and inclined immediately to set sail for the Piræus. In the first place, however, they sent for Alcibiades, and having appointed him their general,

ordered him to lead them against the tyrants, and demolish both them and their power. On such an occasion, almost any other man, suddenly exalted by the favour of the multitude, would have thought he must have complied with all their humours, and not have contradicted them in any thing, who, from a fugitive and a banished man, had raised him to be commander-in-chief of such a fleet and army. But he behaved as became a great general, and prevented their plunging into error through the violence of their rage. This care of his evidently was the saving of the commonwealth. For if they had sailed home as they promised, the enemy would have seized on Ionia immediately, and have gained the Hellespont and the islands without striking a stroke; while the Athenians would have been engaged in a civil war, of which Athens itself must have been the seat. All this was prevented chiefly by Alcibiades, who not only tried what arguments would do with the army in general, and informed them of their danger, but applied to them one by one, using entreaties to some and force to others; in which he was assisted by the loud harangues of Thrasybulus of the ward of Stira, who attended him through the whole, and had the strongest voice of any man among the Athenians.

Another great service performed by Alcibiades, was his undertaking that the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians expected from the king of Persia, should either join the Athenians, or at least not act on the enemy's side. In consequence of this promise, he set out as expeditiously as possible: and prevailed upon Tissaphernes not to forward the ships, which were already come as far as Aspendus, but to disappoint and deceive the Lacedæmonians. Nevertheless, both sides, and particularly the Lacedæmonians, accused Alcibiades of

hindering that fleet from coming to their aid ; for they supposed he had instructed the Persians to leave the Greeks to destroy each other. And, indeed, it was obvious enough, that such a force added to either side, would entirely have deprived the other of the dominion of the sea.

After this the four hundred were soon quashed, the friends of Alcibiades very readily assisting those who were for a democracy. And now the people in the city not only wished for him, but commanded him to return : yet he thought it not best to return with empty hands, or without having effected something worthy of note, but instead of being indebted to the compassion and favour of the multitude, to distinguish his appearance by his merit. Parting, therefore, from Samos with a few ships, he cruised on the sea of Cnidas and about the isle of Coos, where he got intelligence that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was sailed with his whole fleet towards the Hellespont, to find out the Athenians. This made him hasten to the assistance of the latter, and fortunately enough he arrived with his eighteen ships at the very juncture of time, when the two fleets, having engaged near Abydos, continued the fight from morning till night, one side having the advantage in the right wing, and the other on the left.

On the appearance of his squadron, both sides entertained a false opinion of the end of his coming : for the Spartans were encouraged and the Athenians struck with terror. But he soon hoisted the Athenian flag on the admiral galley, and bore down directly on the Peloponnesians, who now had the advantage, and were urging the pursuit. His vigorous impression put them to flight, and following them close, he drove them ashore, destroying their ships, and killed such of their men as endeavoured to save themselves by swimming ; though

Pharnabazus succoured them all he could from the shore, and with an armed force attempted to save their vessels. The conclusion was, that the Athenians, having taken thirty of the enemy's ships, and recovered their own, erected a trophy.

After this glorious success, Alcibiades, ambitious to show himself as soon as possible to Tissaphernes, prepared presents and other proper acknowledgments for his friendship and hospitality, and then went to wait upon him with a princely train. But he was not welcomed in the manner he expected : for Tissaphernes, who for some time had been accused by the Lacedæmonians, and was apprehensive that the charge might reach the king's ear, thought the coming of Alcibiades a very seasonable incident, and therefore put him under arrest and confined him in Sardis, imagining that injurious proceeding would be a means to clear himself.

Thirty days after, Alcibiades having by some means or other obtained a horse, escaped from his keepers, and fled to Clazomenæ ; and by way of revenge, he pretended that Tissaphernes privately set him at liberty. From thence he passed to the place where the Athenians were stationed ; and being informed that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together at Cyzicum, he showed the troops that it was necessary for them to fight both by sea and land, nay, even to fight with stone walls, if that should be required, in order to come at their enemies : for, if the victory were not complete and universal, they could come at no money. Then he embarked the forces, and sailed to Proconesus, where he ordered them to take the lighter vessels into the middle of the fleet, and to have a particular care that the enemy might not discover that he was coming against them. A great and sudden rain which happened to fall at that time, together with

dreadful thunder and darkness, was of great service in covering his operations. For not only the enemy were ignorant of his design, but the very Athenians, whom he had ordered in great haste on board, did not presently perceive that he was under sail. Soon after the weather cleared up, and the Peloponnesian ships were seen riding at anchor in the road of Cyzicum. Lest, therefore, the enemy should be alarmed at the largeness of his fleet, and save themselves by getting on shore, he directed many of the officers to slacken sail and keep out of sight, while he showed himself with forty ships only, and challenged the Lacedæmonians to the combat. The stratagem had its effect ; for despising the small number of galleys which they saw, they immediately weighed anchor and engaged ; but the rest of the Athenian ships coming up during the engagement, the Lacedæmonians were struck with terror and fled. Upon that, Alcibiades, with twenty of his best ships breaking through the midst of them, hastened to the shore, and having made a descent pursued those that fled from the ships, and killed great numbers of them. He likewise defeated Mindarus and Pharnabazus, who came to their succour. Mindarus made a brave resistance and was slain, but Pharnabazus saved himself by flight.

The Athenians remained masters of the field and of the spoils, and took all the enemy's ships. Having also possessed themselves of Cyzicum, which was abandoned by Pharnabazus, and deprived of the assistance of the Peloponnesians, who were almost all cut off, they not only secured the Hellespont, but entirely cleared the sea of the Lacedæmonians. The letter also was intercepted, which, in the laconic style, was to give the Ephori an account of their misfortune. "Our glory is faded. Mindarus is slain. Our soldiers are starving ; and we know not what step to take."

On the other hand, Alcibiades's men were so elated, and took so much upon them, because they had always been victorious, that they would not vouchsafe even to mix with other troops that had been sometimes beaten. It happened not long before, that Thrasyllus having mis-carried in his attempt upon Ephesus, the Ephesians erected a trophy of brass in reproach of the Athenians. The soldiers of Alcibiades, therefore, upbraided those of Thrasyllus with this affair, magnifying themselves and their general, and disdaining to join the others, either in the place of exercise or in the camp. But soon after when Pharnabazus with a strong body of horse and foot attacked the forces of Thrasyllus who were ravaging the country about Abydos, Alcibiades marched to their assistance, routed the enemy, and, together with Thrasyllus, pursued them until night. Then he admitted Thrasyllus into his company, and with mutual civilities and satisfaction they returned to the camp. Next day he erected a trophy, and plundered the province which was under Pharnabazus, without the least opposition. The priests and priestesses he made prisoners, among the rest, but soon dismissed them without ransom. From thence he intended to proceed and lay siege to Chalcedon, which had withdrawn its allegiance from the Athenians, and received a Lacedæmonian garrison and governor; but being informed that the Chalcedonians had collected their cattle and corn, and sent it all to the Bithynians, their friends, he led his army to the frontier of the Bithynians and sent a herald before him to summon them to surrender it. They, dreading his resentment, gave up the booty, and entered into an alliance with him.

Afterwards he returned to the siege of Chalcedon, and enclosed it with a wall, which reached from sea to sea. Pharnabazus advanced to raise the siege, and Hippocrates,

the governor, sallied out with his whole force to attack the Athenians. But Alcibiades drew up his army so as to engage them both at once, and he defeated them both ; Pharnabazus betaking himself to flight, and Hippocrates, being killed, together with the greatest part of his troops. This done, he sailed into the Hellespont, to raise contributions in the towns upon the coast.

In this voyage he took Selybria ; but in the action unnecessarily exposed himself to great danger. The persons who promised to surrender the town to him, agreed to give him a signal at midnight with a lighted torch ; but they were obliged to do it before the time, for fear of some one that was in the secret, who suddenly altered his mind. The torch, therefore, being held up before the army was ready, Alcibiades took about thirty men with him, and ran to the walls, having ordered the rest to follow as fast as possible. The gate was opened to him, and twenty of the conspirators, lightly armed, joined his small company ; he advanced with great spirit, but soon perceived the Selybrians, with their weapons in their hands, coming forward to attack him. As to stand in and fight promised no sort of success, and he who to that hour had never been defeated, did not choose to fly, he ordered a trumpet to command silence, and proclamation to be made, that the Selybrians should not, under the pain of the Republic's high displeasure, take up arms against the Athenians. Their inclination to the combat was then immediately damped, partly from a supposition that the whole Athenian army was within the walls, and partly from the hopes they conceived of coming to honourable terms. Whilst they were talking together of this, the Athenian army came up, and Alcibiades rightly conjecturing that the inclinations of the Selybrians were for peace, were afraid of giving the Thracians an opportunity

to plunder the town. These last came down in great numbers to serve under him as volunteers, from a particular attachment to his person ; but on this occasion he sent them all out of the town ; and, upon the submission of the Selybrians, he saved them from being pillaged, demanding only a sum of money, and leaving a garrison in the place.

Meantime, the other generals, who carried on the siege of Chalcedon, came to an agreement with Pharnabazus on these conditions : namely, that a sum of money should be paid them by Pharnabazus ; that the Chalcedonians should return to their allegiance to the republic of Athens ; and that no injury should be done the province of which Pharnabazus was governor, who undertook that the Athenian ambassadors should be conducted safe to the king. Upon the return of Alcibiades, Pharnabazus desired that he too would swear to the performance of the articles, but Alcibiades insisted that Pharnabazus should swear first. When the treaty was reciprocally confirmed with an oath, Alcibiades went against Byzantium, which had revolted,* and drew a line of circumvallation about the city. While he was thus employed, Anaxilaus, Lycurgus, and some others, secretly promised to deliver up the place, on condition that he would keep it from being plundered. Hereupon, he caused it to be reported that certain weighty and unexpected affairs called him back to Ionia, and in the day-time he set sail with his whole fleet ; but returning at night, he himself disembarked with the land forces, and posted them under the walls, he commanded them not to make the least noise. At the same time the ships made for the harbour, and the crews pressing in with loud shouts and great tumult, astonished the Byzantines, who expected no such matter. Thus an opportunity was given to those within

the walls, who favoured the Athenians, to receive them in great security, while everybody's attention was engaged upon the harbour and the ships.

The affair passed not, however, without blows. For the Peloponnesians, the Bœotians, and the Magarensians, who were at Byzantium, having driven the ships' crews back to their vessels, and perceiving that the Athenian land forces were got into the town, charged them too with great vigour. The dispute was sharp and the shock great, but victory declared in favour of Alcibiades and Theramenes. The former of these generals commanded the right wing, and the latter the left. About three hundred of the enemy, who survived, were taken prisoners. Not one of the Byzantines, after the battle, was either put to death or banished; for such were the terms on which the town was given up, that the citizens should be safe in their persons and their goods.

Hence it was, that when Anaxilaus was tried at Lacedæmon for treason, he made a defence which reflected no disgrace upon his past behaviour; for he told them, "That not being a Lacedæmonian, but a Byzantine, and seeing not Lacedæmon but Byzantium in danger; its communication with those that might have relieved it stopped; and the Peloponnesians and Bœotians eating up the provisions that were left, while the Byzantines, with their wives and children, were starving; he had not betrayed the town to an enemy, but delivered it from calamity and war: herein imitating the worthiest men among the Lacedæmonians, who had no other rule of justice and honour, but by all possible means to serve their country." The Lacedæmonians were so much pleased with this speech that they acquitted him and all that were concerned with him.

Alcibiades, by this time, desirous to see his native

country, and still more desirous to be seen by his countrymen, after so many glorious victories, set sail with the Athenian fleet, adorned with many shields and other spoils of the enemy ; a great number of ships that he had taken making up the rear, and the flags of many more which he had destroyed being carried in triumph ; for all of them together were not fewer than two hundred. But as to what is added, by Duris the Samian, who boasts of his being descended from Alcibiades, that the oars kept time to the flute of Chrysogonus, who had been victorious in the Pythian games ; that Callipides the tragedian, attired in his buskins, magnificent robes, and other theatrical ornaments, gave orders to those who laboured at the oars ; and that the admiral galley entered the harbour with a purple sail ; as if the whole had been a company who had proceeded from a debauch to such a frolic ; these are particulars not mentioned either by Theopompus, Ephorus, or Xenophon. Nor is it probable, that at his return from exile, and after such misfortunes as he had suffered, he would insult the Athenians in that manner. So far from it, that he approached the shore with some fear and caution ; nor did he venture to disembark, until, as he stood upon the deck, he saw his cousin, Euryptolemus, with many others of his friends and relations, coming to receive and invite him to land.

When he was landed, the multitude that came out to meet him did not vouchsafe so much as to look upon the other generals, but crowding up to him, hailed him with shouts of joy, conducted him on the way, and such as could approach him, crowned him with garlands ; while those who could not come up so close viewed him at a distance, and the old men pointed him out to the young. Many tears were mixed with the public joy, and the memory of past misfortunes with the sense of their pre-

sent success. For they concluded that they should not have miscarried in Sicily, or indeed have failed in any of their expectations, if they had left the direction of affairs, and the command of the forces to Alcibiades : since now, having exerted himself in behalf of Athens, when it had almost lost its dominion of the sea, was hardly able to defend its own suburbs, and was moreover harassed with intestine broils, he had raised it from that low and ruinous condition, so as not only to restore its maritime power, but to render it victorious everywhere by land.

The act for recalling him from banishment had been passed at the motion of Critias, the son of Callæschrus, as appears from his elegies, in which he puts Alcibiades in mind of his service :

If you no more in hapless exile mourn,
The praise is mine——

The people presently meeting in full assembly, Alcibiades came in among them, and having in a pathetic manner bewailed his misfortunes, he very modestly complained of their treatment, ascribing all to his hard fortune, and the influence of some envious demon. He then proceeded to discourse of the hopes and designs of their enemies, against whom he used his utmost endeavours to animate them. And they were so much pleased with his harangue that they crowned him with crowns of gold, and gave him the absolute command of their forces, both by sea and land. They likewise made a decree that his estate should be restored to him, and that the Eumolpidæ and the heralds should take off the execrations which they had pronounced against him by order of the people. Whilst the rest were employed in expiations for this purpose, Theodorus, the high-priest, said, "For his part, he had never denounced any curse against him if he had done no injury to the commonweath."

Amidst this glory and prosperity of Alcibiades, some people were still uneasy, looking upon the time of his arrival as ominous. For on that very day was kept the *plynteria*, or purifying of the goddess Minerva. It was the twenty-fifth of May, when the praxiergidæ perform those ceremonies which are not to be revealed, disrobing the image and covering it up. Hence it is that the Athenians, of all days, reckon this the most unlucky, and take the most care not to do business upon it. And it seemed that the goddess did not receive him graciously, but rather with aversion, since she hid her face from him. Notwithstanding all this, everything succeeded according to his wish : three hundred galleys were manned and ready to put to sea again ; but a laudable zeal detained him until the celebration of the mysteries. For after the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decelea, which commanded the roads to Eleusis, the feast was not kept with its usual pomp, because they were obliged to conduct the procession by sea ; the sacrifices, the sacred dances, and other ceremonies which had been performed on the way, called holy, while the image of Bacchus was carried in procession, being on that account necessarily omitted. Alcibiades, therefore, judged it would be an act conducive to the honour of the gods, and to his reputation with men, to restore those rites to their due solemnity, by conducting the procession with his army, and guarding it against the enemy. By that means either king Agis would be humbled, if he suffered it to pass unmolested ; or if he attacked the convoy, Alcibiades would have a fight to maintain in the cause of piety and religion, for the most venerable of its mysteries, in the sight of his country : and all his fellow-citizens would be witnesses of his valour.

When he had determined upon this, and communicated

his design to the Eumolpidæ and the heralds, he placed sentinels upon the eminences, and set out his advanced guard as soon as it was light. Next he took the priests, the persons initiated, and those who had the charge of initiating others, and, covering them with his forces, led them on in great order and profound silence ; exhibiting in that march a spectacle so august and venerable, that those who did not envy him declared he had performed not only the office of a general, but of a high-priest : not a man of the enemy dared to attack him, and he conducted the procession back in great safety ; which both exalted him in his own thoughts, and gave the soldiery such an opinion of him, that they considered themselves as invincible while under his command. And he gained such an influence over the mean and indigent part of the people, that they were passionately desirous to see him invested with absolute power ; insomuch that some of them applied to him in person, and exhorted him, in order to quash the malignity of envy at once, to abolish the privileges of the people and the laws, and to quell those busy spirits who would otherwise be the ruin of the state, for then he might direct affairs, and proceed to action, without fear of groundless impeachments.

What opinion he himself had of this proposal we know not ; but this is certain, that the principal citizens were so apprehensive of his aiming at arbitrary power, that they got him to embark as soon as possible ; and the more to expedite the matter, they ordered, among other things, that he should have the choice of his colleagues. Putting to sea, therefore, with a fleet of a hundred ships, he sailed to the isle of Andros, where he fought and defeated the Andrians and such of the Lacedæmonians as assisted them. But yet he did not attack the city, which gave his enemies the first occasion for the charge, which they

afterwards brought against him. Indeed, if ever man was ruined by a high distinction of character, it was Alcibiades. For his continual successes had brought such an opinion of his courage and capacity, that when afterwards he happened to fail in what he undertook, it was suspected to be from want of inclination, and no one would believe it was from want of ability : they thought nothing too hard for him, when he pleased to exert himself. They hoped also to hear that Chios was taken, and all Ionia reduced, and grew impatient when everything was not despatched as suddenly as they desired. They never considered the smallness of his supplies, and that having to carry on a war against people who were furnished out of the treasury of a great king, he was often laid under the necessity of leaving his camp, to go in search of money and provisions for his men.

This it was that gave rise to the last accusation against him. Lysander the Lacedæmonian admiral, out of the money he received from Cyrus, raised the wages of each mariner from three oboli a day to four, whereas it was with difficulty that Alcibiades paid his men three. The latter, therefore, went into Caria to raise money, leaving the fleet in charge with Antiochus, who was an experienced seaman, but rash and inconsiderate. Though he had express orders from Alcibiades to let no provocation from the enemy bring him to hazard an engagement, yet in his contempt of those orders, having taken some troops on board his own galley and one more, he stood for Ephesus, where the enemy lay, and as he sailed by the heads of their ships, insulted them in the most insufferable manner both by words and actions. Lysander sent out a few ships to pursue him ; but as the whole Athenian fleet came up to assist Antiochus, he drew out the rest of his and gave battle, and gained a complete victory. He

slew Antiochus himself, took many ships and men, and erected a trophy. Upon this disagreeable news, Alcibiades returned to Samos, from whence he moved with the whole fleet, to offer Lysander battle. But Lysander, content with the advantage he had gained, did not think proper to accept it.

Among the enemies which Alcibiades had in the army, Thrasybulus, the son of Thrason, being the most determined, quitted the camp, and went to Athens to impeach him. To incense the people against him, he declared in full assembly, that Alcibiades had been the ruin of their affairs, and the means of losing their ships, by his insolent and imprudent behaviour in command, and by leaving the direction of everything to persons who had got into credit with him through the great merit of drinking deep and cracking seamen's jokes; whilst he was securely traversing the provinces to raise money, indulging his love of liquor, or abandoning himself to his pleasures with the courtezans of Ionia and Abydos: and this at a time when the enemy was stationed at a small distance from his fleet. It was also objected to him, that he had built a castle in Thrace, near the city of Bisanthe, to be made use of as a retreat for himself, as if he either could not or would not live any longer in his own country. The Athenians giving ear to these accusations, to show their resentment and dislike to him, appointed new commanders of their forces.

Alcibiades was no sooner informed of it, than consulting his own safety, he entirely quitted the Athenian army. And having collected a band of strangers, he made war on his own account against those Thracians who acknowledged no king. The booty he made raised him great sums; and at the same time he defended the Grecian frontier against the barbarians.

Tydeus, Menander, and Adimantus the new-made generals, being now at Ægos Potamos, with all the ships which the Athenians had left, used to stand out early every morning and offer battle to Lysander, whose station was at Lampsacus, and then to return and pass the day, in a disorderly and careless manner, as if they despised their adversary. This seemed to Alcibiades, who was in the neighbourhood, a matter that was not to be passed over without notice. He therefore went and told the generals, "He thought their station by no means safe in a place where there was neither town nor harbour; that it was very inconvenient to have their provisions and stores from so distant a place as Sestos; and extremely dangerous to let their seamen go ashore, and wander about at their pleasure; whilst a fleet was observing them, which was under the orders of one man, and the strictest discipline imaginable." He, therefore, advised them to remove their station to Sestos.

The generals, however, gave no attention to what he said: and Tydeus was so insolent as even to bid him begone, for that they, not he, were now to give orders. Alcibiades, suspecting that there was some treachery in the case, retired, telling his acquaintance, who conducted him out of the camp, that if he had not been insulted in such an insupportable manner by the generals, he would in a few days have obliged the Lacedæmonians, however unwilling, either to come to an action at sea, or else to quit their ships. This to some appeared a vain boast: to others it seemed not at all improbable, since he might have brought down a number of Thracian archers and cavalry, to attack and harass the Lacedæmonian camp.

The event soon showed that he judged right of the errors which the Athenians had committed. For Lysander falling upon them when they least expected it,

eight galleys only escaped, along with Conon ; the rest, not much short of two hundred, were taken and carried away, together with three thousand prisoners who were afterwards put to death. And within a short time after Lysander took Athens itself, burned the shipping and demolished the long walls.

Alcibiades, alarmed at this success of the Lacedæmonians, who were now masters both at sea and land, retired into Bithynia. Thither he ordered much treasure to be sent, and took large sums with him, but still left more behind in the castle where he had resided. In Bithynia he once more lost great part of his substance, being stripped by the Thracians there : which determined him to go to Artaxerxes, and entreat his protection. He imagined that the king, upon trial, would find him no less serviceable than Themistocles had been, and he had a better pretence to his patronage ; for he was not going to solicit the king's aid against his countrymen, as Themistocles had done, but for his country against its worst enemies. He concluded that Pharnabazus was most likely to procure him a safe conduct, and therefore went to him in Phrygia, where he stayed some time, making his court, and receiving marks of respect.

It was a grief to the Athenians to be deprived of their power and dominion, but when Lysander robbed them also of their liberty, and put their city under the authority of thirty chiefs, they were still more miserably afflicted. Now their affairs were ruined, they perceived with regret the measures which would have saved them, and which they had neglected to make use of ; now they acknowledged their blindness and errors, and looked upon their second quarrel with Alcibiades as the greatest of those errors. They had cast him off without any offence of his : their anger had been grounded upon the ill conduct of his

lieutenant in losing a few ships, and their own conduct had been still worse in depriving the commonwealth of the most excellent and valiant of all its generals. Yet amidst their present misery there was one slight glimpse of hope, that while Alcibiades survived, Athens could not be utterly undone. For he, who before was not content to lead an inactive, though peaceable life, in exile, would not now, if his own affairs were upon any tolerable footing, sit still and see the insolence of the Lacedæmonians, and the madness of the thirty tyrants, without endeavouring at some remedy. Nor was it at all unnatural for the multitude to dream of such relief, since those thirty chiefs themselves were so solicitous to inquire after Alcibiades, and gave so much attention to what he was doing and contriving.

At last, Critias represented to Lysander that the Lacedæmonians could never securely enjoy the empire of Greece till the Athenian democracy were absolutely destroyed; and though the Athenians seemed at present to bear an oligarchy with some patience, yet Alcibiades, if he lived, would not suffer them long to submit to such a kind of government. Lysander, however, could not be prevailed upon by these arguments, until he received private orders from the magistrates of Sparta, to get Alcibiades despatched; whether it was that they dreaded his great capacity and enterprising spirit, or whether it was done in complaisance to king Agis. Lysander then sent to Pharnabazus to desire him to put this order in execution; and he appointed his brother Magacus, and his uncle Susamithres to manage the affair.

Alcibiades at that time resided in a small village in Phrygia, having his mistress Timandra with him. One night he dreamed that he was attired in his mistress's habit, and that as she held him in her arms, she dressed

his head, and painted his face like a woman's. Others say, he dreamed that Magacus cut off his head and burned his body; and we are told, that it was but a little before his death that he had this vision. Be that as it may, those that were sent to assassinate him, not daring to enter his house, surrounded it, and set it on fire. As soon as he perceived it, he got together large quantities of clothes and hangings, and threw them upon the fire to choke it; then having wrapped his robe about his left hand, and taking his sword in his right, he sallied through the fire, and got safe out before the stuff which he had thrown upon it could catch the flame. At sight of him the barbarians dispersed, not one of them daring to wait for him, or to encounter him hand to hand; but standing at a distance, they pierced him with their darts and arrows. Thus fell Alcibiades. The barbarians retiring after he was slain, Timandra wrapped the body in her own robes, and buried it as decently and honourably as her circumstances would allow.

Timandra is said to have been mother to the famous Lais, commonly called the Corinthian, though Lais was brought a captive from Hyccaræ, a little town in Sicily.

Some writers, though they agree as to the manner of Alcibiades' death, yet differ about the cause. They tell us, that catastrophe is not to be imputed to Pharnabazus, or Lysander, or the Lacadæmonians; but that Alcibiades having corrupted a young woman of noble family in that country, and keeping her in his house, her brothers, incensed at the injury, set fire, in the night, to the house in which he lived, and upon his breaking through the flames killed him in the manner we have related.

CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS.

THE family of the Marcii afforded Rome many illustrious patricians. Of this house was Ancus Marcius, who was grandson to Numa by his daughter ; as were also Publius and Quintus Marcius, who supplied Rome with plenty of the best water. Censorinus, too, who was twice appointed Censor by the people of Rome, and who procured a law that no man should ever bear that office twice afterwards, had the same pedigree.

Caius Marcius, of whom I now write, was brought up by his mother in her widowhood ; and from him it appeared, that the loss of a father, though attended with other disadvantages, is no hindrance to a man's improving in virtue and attaining to a distinguished excellence ; though bad men sometimes allege it as an excuse for their corrupt lives. On the other hand the same Marcius became witness to the truth of that maxim, that if a generous and noble nature be not thoroughly formed by discipline, it will shoot forth many bad qualities along with the good, as the richest soil, if not cultivated, produces the rankest weeds. His undaunted courage and firmness of mind excited him to many great actions, and carried him through them with honour. But, at the same time, the violence of his passions, his spirit of contention and excessive obstinacy, rendered him untractable and disagreeable in conversation. So that those very persons who saw with admiration his soul unshaken with pleasures, toils, and riches, and allowed him to be pos-

sessed of the virtues of temperance, justice, and fortitude yet in the councils and affairs of state, could not endure his imperious temper, and that savage manner which was too haughty for a republic. Indeed, there is no other advantage to be had from a liberal education, equal to that of polishing and softening our nature by reason and discipline ; for that produces an evenness of behaviour and banishes from our manners all extremes. There is this, however, to be said, that in those times military abilities were deemed by the Romans the highest excellence, insomuch that the term which they use for virtue in general, was applied by them to valour in particular.

Marcus, for his part, had a more than ordinary inclination for war, and therefore from a child began to handle his weapons. As he thought that artificial arms avail but little, unless those with which nature has supplied us be well improved and kept ready for use, he so prepared himself by exercise for every kind of combat, that while his limbs were active and nimble enough for pursuing, such was his force and weight in wrestling and grappling with the enemy, that none could easily get clear of him. Those therefore that had any contest with him for the prize of courage and valour, though they failed of success, flattered themselves with imputing it to his invincible strength, which nothing could resist or fatigue.

He made his first campaign when he was very young, when Tarquin, who had reigned in Rome, was driven from the throne, and after many battles, fought with bad success, was now venturing all upon the last throw. Most of the people of Latium, and many other states of Italy, were now assisting and marching towards Rome, to re-establish him, not through any regard they had for Tarquin, but for fear and envy of the Romans, whose growing greatness they were desirous to check. A battle

ensued, with various turns of fortune. Marcius distinguished himself that day in sight of the dictator ; for seeing a Roman pushed down at a small distance from him, he hastened to his help, and standing before him, he engaged his adversary and slew him. When the dispute was decided in favour of the Romans, the general presented Marcius, among the first, with an oaken crown. This is the reward which their custom assigns to the man who saves the life of a citizen ; either because they honoured the oak for the sake of the Arcadians, whom the oracle called Acorn eaters ; or because an oaken branch is most easy to be had be the scene of action where it will ; or because they think it most suitable to take a crown for him who is the means of saving a citizen from the tree which is sacred to Jupiter, the protector of cities. Besides, the oak bears more and fairer fruit than any tree that grows wild, and is the strongest of those that are cultivated in plantations. It afforded the first ages both food and drink by its acorns and honey ; and supplied men with birds and other creatures for dainties, as it produced the misletoe, of which birdlime is made.

Castor and Pollux are said to have appeared in that battle, and, with their horses dropping sweat, to have been seen soon after in the forum announcing the victory near the fountain, where the temple now stands. Hence also it is said, that the fifteenth of July, being the day on which that victory was gained, is consecrated to those sons of Jupiter.

It generally happens, that when men of small ambition are very early distinguished by the voice of fame, their thirst of honour is soon quenched and their desires satiated : whereas deep and solid minds are improved and brightened by marks of distinction, which serve, as a brisk gale, to drive them forward in the pursuit of glory.

They do not so much think that they have received a reward, as that they have given a pledge, which would make them blush to fall short of the expectations of the public, and [therefore they endeavour by their actions to exceed them. Marcius had a soul of this frame. He was always endeavouring to excel himself, and meditating some exploit which might set him in a new light, adding achievement to achievement, and spoils to spoils ; therefore the latter generals under whom he served, were always striving to outdo the former in the honours they paid him, and in the tokens of their esteem. The Romans at that time were engaged in several wars, and fought many battles, and there was not one that Marcius returned from without some honorary crown, some ennobling distinction. The end which others proposed in their acts of valour was glory ; but he pursued glory because the acquisition of it delighted his mother. For when she was witness to the applauses he received, when she saw him crowned, when she embraced him with tears of joy, then it was that he reckoned himself at the height of honour and felicity. Epaminondas (they tell us) had the same sentiments, and declared it the chief happiness of his life, that his father and mother lived to see the generalship he exerted and the victory he won at Leuctra. He had the satisfaction, indeed, to see both his parents rejoice in his success, and partake of his good fortune ; but only the mother of Marcius, Volumnia, was living, and therefore holding himself obliged to pay her all that duty which would have belonged to his father, over and above what was due to herself, he thought he could never sufficiently express his tenderness and respect. He even married in compliance with her desire and request, and after his wife had borne him children, still lived in the same house with his mother.

At the time when the reputation and interest which his virtue had procured him in Rome was very great, the senate, taking the part of the richer sort of citizens, were at variance with the common people, who were used by their creditors with intolerable cruelty. Those that had something considerable were stripped of their goods, which were either detained for security, or sold; and those that had nothing were dragged into prison, and there bound with fetters, though their bodies were full of wounds, and worn out with fighting for their country. The last expedition they were engaged in was against the Sabines, on which occasion their rich creditors promised to treat them with more lenity, and in pursuance of a decree of the senate, M. Valerius the consul was guarantee of that promise. But when they had cheerfully undergone the fatigues of that war, and were returned victorious, and yet found that the usurers made them no abatement, and that the senate pretended to remember nothing of that agreement, but without any sort of concern saw them dragged to prison, and their goods seized upon as formerly, then they filled the city with tumult and sedition.

The enemy, apprised of these intestine broils, invaded the Roman territories, and laid them waste with fire and sword. And when the consuls called upon such as were able to bear arms to give in their names, not a man took any notice of it. Something was then to be done; but the magistrates differed in their opinions. Some thought the poor should have a little indulgence, and that the extreme rigour of the law ought to be softened. Others declared absolutely against that proposal, and particularly Marcius. Not that he thought the money a matter of great consequence, but he considered this specimen of the people's insolence as an attempt to subvert the laws, and

the forerunner of farther disorders, which it became a wise government timely to restrain and suppress.

The senate assembled several times within the space of a few days, and debated this point ; but as they came to no conclusion, on a sudden the commonalty rose one and all, and encouraging each other, they left the city, and withdrew to the hill now called Sacred, near the river Anio, but without committing any violence or other act of sedition. Only as they went along, they loudly complained, "That it was now a great while since the rich had driven them from their habitations ; that Italy would anywhere supply them with air and water and a place of burial ; and that Rome, if they stayed in it, would afford them no other privilege, unless it were such, to bleed and die in fighting for their wealthy oppressors."

The senate were then alarmed, and from the oldest men of their body selected the most moderate and popular to treat with the people. At the head of them was Menenius Agrippa, who after much entreaty addressed to them, and using many arguments in defence of the senate, concluded his discourse with this celebrated fable. "The members of the human body once mutinied against the belly, and accused it of lying idle and useless, while they were all labouring and toiling to satisfy its appetites : but the belly only laughed at their simplicity, who knew not that though it received all the nourishment into itself, it prepared and distributed it again to all parts of the body." Just so, my fellow-citizens, said he, stands the case between the senate and you. For their necessary counsels and acts of government are productive of advantage to you all, and distribute their salutary influence amongst the whole people.

After this they were reconciled to the senate, having demanded and obtained the privilege of appointing five men

to defend their rights on all occasions. These are called tribunes of the people. The first that were elected, were Junius Brutus and Sicinius Vellutus, the leaders of the secession. When the breach was thus made up, the plebeians soon came to be enrolled as soldiers, and readily obeyed the orders of the consuls relative to the war. As for Marcius, though he was far from being pleased at the advantage which the people had gained, as it was a lessening of the authority of the patricians, and though he found a considerable part of the nobility of his opinion, yet he exhorted them not to be backward wherever the interest of their country was concerned, but to show themselves superior to the commonalty rather in virtue than in power.

Corioli was the capital of the country of the Volscians, with whom the Romans were at war; and as it was besieged by the consul Cominius, the rest of the Volscians were much alarmed; and assembled to succour it, intending to give the Romans battle under the walls, and to attack them on both sides. But after Cominius had divided his forces, and with part went to meet the Volscians without, who were marching against him, leaving Titus Lartius, an illustrious Roman, with the other part, to carry on the siege, the inhabitants of Corioli despised the body that were left, and sallied out to fight them. The Romans at first were obliged to give ground, and were driven to their entrenchments; but Marcius with a small party flew to their assistance, killed the foremost of the enemy, and stopping the rest in their career, with a loud voice called the Romans back; for he was (what Cato wanted a soldier to be) not only dreadful for the thunder of his arm, but of voice too, and had an aspect which struck his adversaries with terror and dismay. Many Romans then crowded about him, and being ready

to second him, the enemy retired in confusion. Nor was he satisfied with making them retire; he pressed hard upon their rear and pursued them quite up to the gates. There he perceived that his men discontinued the pursuit, by reason of the shower of arrows which fell from the walls, and that none of them had any thoughts of rushing along with the fugitives into the city which was filled with warlike people, who were all under arms; nevertheless he exhorted and encouraged them to press forward, crying out, "That fortune had opened the gates rather to the victors than to the vanquished." But as few were willing to follow him, he broke through the enemy, and pushed into the town with the crowd, no one at first daring to oppose him or even to look him in the face. But when he cast his eyes around, and saw so small a number within the walls, whose service he could make use of in that dangerous enterprise, and that friends and foes were mixed together, he summoned all his force and performed the most incredible exploits, whether you consider his heroic strength, his amazing agility, or his bold and daring spirit; for he overpowered all that were in his way, forcing some to seek refuge in the farthest corners of the town, and others to give out and throw down their arms; which afforded Lartius an opportunity to bring in the rest of the Romans unmolested.

The city thus taken, most of the soldiers fell to plundering, which Marcius highly resented, crying out, "That it was a shame for them to run about after plunder, or, under pretence of collecting the spoils to get out of the way of danger, while the consul and the Romans under his command were, perhaps, engaged with the enemy." As there were not many that listened to what he said, he put himself at the head of such as offered to follow him, and took the route which he knew would lead him to the

consul's army ; sometimes pressing his small party to hasten their march, and conjuring them not to suffer their ardour to cool, and sometimes begging of the gods that the battle might not be over before he arrived, but that he might have his share in the glorious toils and dangers of his countrymen.

It was customary with the Romans of that age, when they were drawn up in order of battle, and ready to take up their shields and gird their garments about them, to make a nuncupative will, naming each his heir, in the presence of three or four witnesses. While the soldiers were thus employed, and the enemy in sight, Marcius came up. Some were startled at his first appearance, covered as he was with blood and sweat. But when he ran cheerfully up to the consul, took him by the hand, and told him that Corioli was taken, the consul clasped him to his heart : and those who heard the news of that success, and those who did but guess at it were greatly animated, and with shouts demanded to be led on to the combat. Marcius inquired of Cominius, in what manner the enemy's army was drawn up, and where their best troops were posted. Being answered, that the Antiates who were placed in the centre, were supposed to be the bravest and most warlike, "I beg it of you, then," said Marcius, "as a favour, that you will place me directly opposite to them." And the consul, admiring his spirit, readily granted his request.

When the battle was begun with the throwing of spears, Marcius advanced before the rest, and charged the centre of the Volscians with so much fury, that it was soon broken. Nevertheless, the wings attempted to surround him ; and the consul alarmed for him, sent to his assistance a select band which he had near his own person. A sharp conflict then ensued about Marcius, and a great

carnage was quickly made ; but the Romans pressed the enemy with so much vigour that they put them to flight. And when they were going upon the pursuit, they begged of Marcius, now almost weighed down with wounds and fatigue, to retire to the camp. But he answered, " That it was not for conquerors to be tired," and so joined them in prosecuting the victory. The whole army of the Volscians was defeated, great numbers killed and made prisoners.

Next day, 'Marcius waiting upon the consul, and the army being assembled, Cominius mounted the rostrum ; and, having in the first place returned due thanks to the gods for such extraordinary success, addressed himself to Marcius. He began with a detail of his gallant actions, of which he had himself been partly an eye-witness, and which had partly been related to him by Lartius. Then out of the great quantity of treasure, the many horses and prisoners they had taken, he ordered him to take a tenth, before any distribution was made to the rest, besides making him a present of a fine horse with noble trappings, as a reward for his valour.

The army received this speech with great applause ; and Marcius stepping forward, said, " That he accepted of the horse, and was happy in the consul's approbation ; but as for the rest, he considered it rather as a pecuniary reward than as a mark of honour, and therefore desired to be excused, being satisfied with his single share of the booty. One favour only in particular, continued he, I desire, and beg I may be indulged in. I have a friend among the Volscians, bound with me in the sacred rites of hospitality, and a man of virtue and honour. He is now among the prisoners, and from easy and opulent circumstances reduced to servitude. Of the many misfortunes under which he labours, I should be glad to rescue him from one, which is that of being sold as a slave."

These words of Marcius were followed with still louder acclamations ; his conquering the temptations of money being more admired than the valour he had exerted in battle. For even those who before regarded his superior honours with envy and jealousy, now thought him worthy of great things because he had greatly declined them, and were more struck with that virtue which led him to despise such extraordinary advantages, than with the merit which claimed them. Indeed, the right use of riches is more commendable than that of arms ; and not to desire them at all, more glorious than to use them well.

When the acclamations were over, and the multitude silent again, Cominius subjoined, " You cannot, indeed, my fellow-soldiers, force these gifts of yours upon a person so firmly resolved to refuse them ; let us then give him what it is not in his power to decline, let us pass a vote that he be called Coriolanus, if his gallant behaviour at Corioli has not already bestowed that name upon him." Hence came his third name of Coriolanus. By which it appears that Caius was the proper name ; that the second name Marcius, was that of the family ; and that the third Roman appellative was a peculiar note of distinction, given afterwards on account of some particular act of fortune, or signature, or virtue of him that bore it. Thus among the Greeks additional names were given to some on account of their achievements, as Soter, the preserver, and Callinicus, the victorious ; to others, for something remarkable in their persons, as Physcon, the gore-bellied, and Gripus, the eagle-nosed ; or for their good qualities, as, Euergetes, the benefactor, and Philadelphus, the kind brother ; or their good fortune, as Eudæmon, the prosperous, a name given to the second prince of the family of the Batti. Several princes also have had satirical names bestowed upon them ; Antigonus (for instance) was called

Doson, the man that will give to-morrow, and Ptolemy was styled Lamyras, the buffoon. But appellations of the last sort were used with greater latitude among the Romans. One of the Metelli was distinguished by the name of Diadematus, because he went a long time with a bandage, which covered an ulcer he had in his forehead : and another they called Celer, because with surprising celerity he entertained them with a funeral show of gladiators, a few days after his father's death. In our times, too, some of the Romans receive their names from the circumstances of their birth : as that of Proculus, if born when their fathers are in a distant country ; and that of Posthumus, if born after their father's death : and when twins come into the world, and one of them dies at the birth, the survivor is called Vopiscus. Names are also appropriated on account of bodily imperfections ; for amongst them we find not only Sylla, the red, and Niger, the black ; but even Cacus, the blind, and Claudius, the lame ; such persons by this custom being wisely taught not to consider blindness or any other bodily misfortune as a reproach or disgrace, but to answer to appellations of that kind as their proper names. But this point might have been insisted upon with greater propriety in another place.

When the war was over, the demagogues stirred up another sedition. And as there was no new cause of disquiet or injury done the people, they made use of the mischiefs which were the necessary consequence of the former troubles and dissensions, as a handle against the Patricians. For the greatest part of the ground being left uncultivated and unsown, and the war not permitting them to bring in bread-corn from other countries, there was an extreme scarcity in Rome. The factious orators then seeing that corn was not brought to market, and

that if the market could be supplied, the commonalty had but little money to buy with, slanderously asserted, that the rich had caused the famine out of a spirit of revenge.

At this juncture there arrived ambassadors from the people of Velitræ, who offered to surrender their city to the Romans, and desired to have a number of new inhabitants to replenish it ; a pestilential distemper having committed such ravages there, that scarce the tenth part of the inhabitants remained. The sensible part of the Romans thought this pressing necessity of Velitræ a seasonable and advantageous thing for Rome, as it would lessen the scarcity of provisions. They hoped, moreover, that the sedition would subside, if the city were purged of the troublesome part of the people, who most readily took fire at the harangues of their orators, and who were as dangerous to the state as so many superfluous and morbid humours are to the body. Such as these, therefore, the consuls singled out for the colony, and pitched upon others to serve in the war against the Volscians contriving it so that employment abroad might still the intestine tumults, and believing that when rich and poor, plebeians and patricians, came to bear arms together again, to be in the same camp, and to meet the same dangers, they would be disposed to treat each other with more gentleness and candour.

But the restless tribunes, Sicinius and Brutus, opposed both these designs, crying out that the consuls disguised a most inhuman act under the plausible term of a colony ; for inhuman it certainly was to throw the poor citizens into a devouring gulf, by sending them to a place where the air was infected, and where noisome carcasses lay above ground, where also they would be at the disposal of a strange and cruel deity. And as if it were not sufficient

to destroy some by famine, and to expose others to the plague, they involved them also into a needless war, that no kind of calamity might be wanting to complete the ruin of the city, because it refused to continue in slavery to the rich.

The people, irritated by these speeches, neither obeyed the summons to be enlisted for the war, nor could be brought to approve the order to go and people Velitræ. While the senate were in doubt what step they should take, Marcius, now not a little elated by the honours he had received, by the sense of his own great abilities, and by the deference that was paid him by the principal persons in the state, stood foremost in opposition to the tribunes. The colony, therefore, was sent out, heavy fines being set upon such as refused to go. But as they declared absolutely against serving in the war, Marcius mustered up his own clients, and as many volunteers as he could procure, and with these made an inroad into the territories of the Antiates. There he found plenty of corn, and a great number of cattle and slaves, no part of which he reserved to himself, but led his troops back to Rome, loaded with the rich booty. The rest of the citizens then repenting of their obstinacy, and envying those who had got such a quantity of provisions, looked upon Marcius with an evil eye, not being able to endure the increase of his power and honour, which they considered as rising on the ruins of the people.

Soon after, Marcius stood for the consulship, on which occasion the commonalty began to relent, being sensible what a shame it would be to reject and affront a man of his family and virtue, and that too after he had done so many signal services to the public. It was the custom for those who were candidates for such a high office, to solicit and caress the people in the forum, and at those

times, to be clad in a loose gown without the tunic ; whether that humble dress was thought more suitable for suppliants, or whether it was for the convenience of showing their wounds, as so many tokens of valour. For it was not from any suspicion the citizens then had of bribery, that they required the candidates to appear before them ungirt and without any close garment, when they came to beg their votes ; since it was much later than this, and indeed many ages after, that buying and selling stole in, and money came to be a means of gaining an election. Then corruption reaching also the tribunals and the camps, arms were subdued by money, and the commonwealth was changed into a monarchy. It was a shrewd saying, whoever said it, " That the man who first ruined the Roman people was he who first gave them treats and gratuities." But this mischief crept secretly and gradually in, and did not show its face in Rome for a considerable time. For we know not who it was that first bribed its citizens or its judges ; but it is said, that in Athens, the first man who corrupted a tribunal, was Anytas, the son of Anthymion, when he was tried for treason in delivering up the fort of Pylos, at the latter end of the Peloponnesian war ; a time when the golden age reigned in the Roman courts in all its simplicity.

When, therefore, Marcius showed the wounds and scars he had received in the many glorious battles he had fought for seventeen years successively, the people were struck with reverence for his virtue, and agreed to choose him consul. But when the day of election came, and he was conducted with great pomp into the Campus Martius by the senate in a body, all the patricians acting with more zeal and vigour than ever had been known on the like occasion, the commons then altered their minds, and their kindness was turned into envy and indignation.

The malignity of these passions was further assisted by the fear they entertained, that if a man so strongly attached to the interests of the senate, and so much respected by the nobility, should attain the consulship, he might utterly deprive the people of their liberty. Influenced by these considerations, they rejected Marcus and appointed others to that office. The senate took this extremely ill, considering it as an affront rather intended against them than against Marcus. As for Marcus, he resented that treatment highly, indulging his irascible passions upon a supposition that they have something great and exalted in them; and wanting a due mixture of gravity and mildness, which are the chief political virtues, and the fruits of reason and education. He did not consider that the man who applies himself to public business, and undertakes to converse with men, should, above all things, avoid that overbearing austerity, which (as Plato says) is always the companion of solitude, and cultivate in his heart the patience which some people so much deride. Marcus then, being plain and artless, but rigid and inflexible withal, was persuaded that to vanquish opposition was the highest attainment of a gallant spirit. He never dreamed that such obstinacy is rather the effect of the weakness and effeminacy of a dis-tempered mind, which breaks out in violent passions, like so many tumours; and therefore he went away in great disorder, and full of rancour against the people. Such of the young nobility as were most distinguished by the pride of birth and greatness of spirit, who had always been wonderfully taken with Marcus, and then unluckily happened to attend him, inflamed his resentment by expressing their own grief and indignation. For he was their leader in every expedition, and their instructor in the art of war. He it was who inspired them

with a truly virtuous emulation, and taught them to rejoice in their own success, without envying the exploits of others.

In the meantime, a great quantity of bread-corn was brought to Rome, being partly bought up in Italy, and partly a present from Gelon, king of Syracuse. The aspect of affairs appeared now to be encouraging, and it was hoped that the intestine broils would cease with the scarcity. The senate, therefore, being immediately assembled, the people stood in crowds without, waiting for the issue of their deliberations. They expected that the market rates for the corn that was bought, would be moderate, and that a distribution of that which was a gift would be made gratis; for there were some who proposed that the senate should dispose of it in that manner. But Marcius stood up, and severely censured those that spoke in favour of the commonalty, calling them demagogues and traitors to the nobility. He said, "They nourished to their own great prejudice the pernicious seeds of boldness and petulance, which had been sown among the populace, when they should rather have nipped them in the bud, and not have suffered the plebeians to strengthen themselves with the tribunitial power. That the people were now become formidable, gaining whatever point they pleased, and not doing any one thing against their inclination; so that living in a sort of anarchy, they would no longer obey the consuls, nor acknowledge any superiors but those whom they called their own magistrates. That the senators who advised that distributions should be made in the manner of the Greeks, whose government was entirely democratical, were effecting the ruin of the constitution by encouraging the insolence of the rabble. For that they would not suppose they received such favours for the campaign

which they had refused to make, or for the secessions by which they had deserted their country, or for the calumnies which they had countenanced against the senate. But," continued he, "they will think that we yield to them through fear, and grant them such indulgences by way of flattery ; and as they will expect to find us always so complaisant, there will be no end to their disobedience, no period to their turbulent and seditious practices. It would, therefore, be perfect madness to take such a step. Nay, if we are wise, we shall entirely abolish the tribune's office, which has made ciphers of the consuls, and divided the city in such a manner, that it is no longer one as formerly, but broken into two parts, which will never knit again, or cease to vex and harass each other with all the evils of discord."

Marcus, haranguing to this purpose, inspired the young senators and almost all the men of fortune with his own enthusiasm ; and they cried out that he was the only man in Rome who had a spirit above the meanness of flattery and submission ; yet some of the aged senators foresaw the consequence, and opposed his measures. In fact, the issue was unfortunate. For the tribunes who were present, when they saw that Marcus would have a majority of voices, ran out to the people, loudly calling upon them to stand by their own magistrates and give their best assistance. An assembly then was held in a tumultuary manner, in which the speeches of Marcus were recited, and the plebeians in their fury had thoughts of breaking in upon the senate. The tribunes pointed their rage against Marcus in particular, by impeaching him in form, and sent for him to make his defence. But as he spurned the messengers, they went themselves, attended by the aediles, to bring him by force, and began to lay hands on him. Upon this the patricians stood

up for him, drove off the tribunes, and beat the ædiles ; till night coming on broke off the quarrel. Early next morning the consuls observing that the people, now extremely incensed, flocked from all quarters into the forum ; and dreading what might be the consequence to the city, hastily convened the senate, and moved, "That they should consider how with kind words and favourable resolutions they might bring the commons to temper ; for that this was not a time to display their ambition, nor would it be prudent to pursue their disputes about the point of honour at a critical and dangerous juncture, which required the greatest moderation and delicacy of conduct." As the majority agreed to the motion, they went out to confer with the people, and used their best endeavours to pacify them, coolly refuting calumnies, and modestly, though not without some degree of sharpness, complaining of their behaviour. As to the price of bread-corn and other provisions, they declared, there should be no difference between them.

Great part of the people were moved with this application, and it clearly appeared by their candid attention, that they were ready to close with it. Then the tribunes stood up and said, "That since the senate acted with such moderation, the people were not unwilling to make concessions in their turns ; but they insisted that Marcius should come and answer to these articles," Whether he had not stirred up the senate to the confounding of all government, and the destroying of the people's privileges ? Whether he had not refused to obey their summons ? Whether he had not beaten and otherwise maltreated the ædiles in the forum ; and by these means (so far as in him lay) levied war, and brought the citizens to sheath their swords in each other's bosoms ? These things they said with a design, either to humble Marcius by making

him submit to entreat the people's clemency, which was much against his haughty temper ; or if he followed his native bent, to draw him to make the breach incurable. The latter they were in hopes of, and the rather, because they knew the man well. He stood as if he would have made his defence, and the people waited in silence for what he had to say. But when, instead of the submissive language that was expected, he began with an aggravating boldness and rather accused the commons, than defended himself ; when with the tone of his voice and the fierceness of his looks, he expressed an intrepidity bordering upon insolence and contempt, they lost all patience ; and Sicinius, the boldest of the tribunes, after a short consultation with his colleagues, pronounced openly, that the tribunes condemned Marcius to die. He then ordered the aediles to take him immediately up to the top of the Tarpeian rock, and throw him down the precipice. However, when they came to lay hands on him the action appeared horrible even to many of the plebeians. The patricians, shocked and astonished, ran with great outcries to his assistance, and got Marcius in the midst of them, some interposing to keep off the arrest, and others stretching out their hands in supplication to the multitude ; but no regard was paid to words and entreaties amidst such disorder and confusion, until the friends and relations of the tribunes perceiving it would be impossible to carry off Marcius and punish him capitally, without first spilling much patrician blood, persuaded them to alter their cruel and unprecedented part of the sentence ; not to use violence in the affair, or put him to death without form of trial, but to refer all to the people's determination in full assembly.

Sicinius, then a little mollified, asked the patricians, "What they meant by taking Marcius out of the hands of

the people, who were resolved to punish him?" To which they replied by another question, "What do you mean by thus dragging one of the worthiest men in Rome without trial to a barbarous and illegal execution?" "If that be all," said Sicinius, "you shall no longer have a pretence for your quarrels and factious behaviour to the people: for they grant you what you desire: the man shall have his trial. And as for you, Marcius, we cite you to appear the third market day, and satisfy the citizens of your innocence, if you can; for then by their suffrages your affair will be decided." The patricians were content with this compromise: and thinking themselves happy in carrying Marcius off, they retired.

Meanwhile, before the third market day, which was a considerable space, for the Romans hold their markets every ninth day, and thence call them *Nundine*, war broke out with the *Antiates*, which, because it was like to be of some continuance, gave them hopes of evading the judgment, since there would be time for the people to become more tractable, to moderate their anger, or perhaps let it entirely evaporate in the business of that expedition. But they soon made peace with the *Antiates*, and returned; whereupon, the fears of the senate were renewed, and they often met to consider how things might be so managed, that they should neither give up Marcius, nor leave room for the tribunes to throw the people into new disorders. On this occasion, Appius Claudius, who was the most violent adversary the commons had, declared, "that the senate would betray and ruin themselves, and absolutely destroy the constitution, if they should once suffer the plebeians to assume a power of suffrage against the patricians." But the oldest and most popular of the senators were of opinion, "That the people, instead of behaving with more harshness and

severity, would become mild and gentle, if that power were indulged them; since they did not despise the senate, but rather thought themselves despised by it; and the prerogative of judging would be such an honour to them, that they would be perfectly satisfied, and immediately lay aside all resentment."

Marcus then seeing the senate perplexed between their regard for him and fear of the people, asked the tribunes, "What they accused him of, and upon what charge he was to be tried before the people?" Being told, "That he would be tried for treason against the commonwealth, in designing to set himself up as a tyrant;" "Let me go then," said he, "to the people, and make my defence; I refuse no form of trial, nor any kind of punishment, if I be found guilty. Only allege no other crime against me, and do not impose upon the senate." The tribunes agreed to these conditions, and promised that the cause should turn upon this one point.

But the first thing they did after the people were assembled, was to compel them to give their voices by tribes, and not by centuries; thus contriving that the meanest and most seditious part of the populace, and those who had no regard to justice or honour, might out-vote such as had borne arms, or were of some fortune and character. In the next place they passed by the charge of his affecting the sovereignty, because they could not prove it, and instead of it, repeated what Marcus some time before had said in the senate, against lowering the price of corn, and for abolishing the tribunitial power. And they added to the impeachment a new article, namely, his not bringing into the public treasury the spoils he had taken in the country of the Antiates, but dividing them among the soldiers. This last accusation is said to have discomposed Marcus more than all the

rest ; for it was what he did not expect, and he could not immediately think of an answer that would satisfy the commonalty ; the praises he bestowed upon those who made that campaign with him, serving only to raise an outcry against him from the majority, who were not concerned in it. At last when they came to vote, he was condemned by a majority of three tribes, and the penalty to be inflicted upon him was perpetual banishment.

After the sentence was pronounced the people were more elated, and went off in greater transports than they ever did on account of a victory in the field ; the senate, on the other hand, were in the greatest distress, and repented that they had not run the last risk, rather than suffer the people to possess themselves of so much power, and use it in so insolent a manner. There was no need then to look upon their dress, or any other mark of distinction, to know which was a plebeian and which a patrician ; the man that exulted was a plebeian, and the man that was dejected, a patrician.

Marcus alone was unmoved and unhumbled. Still lofty in his port and firm in his countenance, he appeared not to be sorry for himself, and to be the only one of the nobility that was not. This air of fortitude was not, however, the effect of reason or moderation, but the man was buoyed up by anger and indignation. And this, though the vulgar know it not, has its rise from grief, which when it catches flame, is turned to anger, and then bids adieu to all feebleness and dejection. Hence, the angry man is courageous, just as he who has a fever is hot, the mind being upon the stretch and in a violent agitation. His subsequent behaviour soon showed that he was thus affected. For having returned to his own house, and embraced his mother and his wife, who lamented their fate with the weakness of women, he exhorted them to bear

it with patience, and then hastened to one of the city gates, being conducted by the patricians in a body. Thus he quitted Rome, without asking or receiving aught at any man's hand : and took with him only three or four clients. He spent a few days in a solitary manner at some of his farms near the city, agitated with a thousand different thoughts, such as his anger suggested : in which he did not propose any advantage to himself, but considered only how he might satisfy his revenge against the Romans. At last he determined to spirit up a cruel war against them from some neighbouring nation ; and for this purpose to apply first to the Volseians, whom he knew to be yet strong both in men and money, and whom he supposed to be rather exasperated and provoked to further conflicts, than absolutely subdued.

There was then a person at Antium, Tullus Aufidius by name, highly distinguished among the Volseians, by his wealth, his valour, and noble birth. Marcius was very sensible, that of all the Romans, he himself was the man whom Tullus most hated. For, excited by ambition and emulation, as young warriors usually are, they had in several engagements encountered each other with menaces, and bold defiance, and thus had added personal enmity to the hatred which reigned between the two nations. But notwithstanding all this, considering the great generosity of Tullus, and knowing that he was more desirous than any of the Volseians of an opportunity to return upon the Romans part of the evils his country had suffered, he took a method which strongly confirms that saying of the poet,

Stern Wrath, how strong thy sway ! though life's the forfeit
Thy purpose must be gained.

For putting himself in such clothes and habiliments as

were most likely to prevent his being known, like Ulysses

He stole into the hostile town.

It was evening when he entered ; and though many people met him in the streets, not one of them knew him. He passed, therefore, on to the house of Tullus, where he got in undiscovered, and having directly made up to the fire-place, he seated himself without saying a word, covering his face, and remaining in a composed posture. The people of the house were very much surprised ; yet they did not venture to disturb him, for there was something of dignity both in his person and his silence ; but they went and related the strange adventure to Tullus, who was then at supper. Tullus, upon this, rose from table, and coming to Coriolanus, asked him, " Who he was, and upon what business he was come ? " Coriolanus uncovering his face, paused awhile, and then thus addressed him : " If thou dost not yet know me, Tullus, but distrustest thy own eyes, I must of necessity be my own accuser. I am Caius Marcius, who have brought so many calamities upon the Volscians, and bear the additional name of Coriolanus, which will not suffer me to deny that imputation, were I disposed to it. For all the labours and dangers I have undergone, I have no other reward left but that appellation, which distinguishes my enmity to your nation, and which cannot indeed be taken from me. Of everything else I am deprived by the envy and outrage of the people, on the one hand, and the cowardice and treachery of the magistrates and those of my own order, on the other. Thus driven out an exile, I am come a suppliant to thy household gods ; not for shelter and protection, for why should I come hither if I were afraid of death ? but for vengeance against those who have expelled me, which, methinks, I begin to take

by putting myself into thy hands. If, therefore, thou art disposed to attack the enemy, come on, brave Tullus, avail thyself of my misfortunes ; let my personal distress be the common happiness of the Volscians. You may be assured, I shall fight much better for you than I have against you, because they who know perfectly the state of the enemy's affairs are much more capable of annoying them than such as do not know them. But if thou hast given up all thoughts of war, I neither desire to live, nor is it fit for thee to preserve a person who of old has been thine enemy, and now is not able to do thee any sort of service."

Tullus, delighted with this address, gave him his hand. "Rise," said he, "Marcius, and take courage. The present you thus make of yourself is inestimable ; and you may assure yourself that the Volscians will not be ungrateful." Then he entertained him at his table with great kindness ; and the next and the following days they consulted together about the war.

Rome was then in great confusion by reason of the animosity of the nobility against the commons, which was considerably heightened by the late condemnation of Marcius. Many prodigies were also announced by private persons, as well as by the priests and diviners. One of which was as follows : Titus Latinus, a man of no high rank, but of great modesty and candour, not addicted to superstition, much less to vain pretences to what is extraordinary, had this dream : Jupiter, he thought, appeared to him, and ordered him to tell the senate, "That they had provided him a very bad and ill-favoured leader of the dance in the sacred procession." When he had seen this vision, he said, he paid but little regard to it at first. It was presented a second and a third time, and he neglected it : whereupon he had the unhappiness to see

his son sicken and die, and he himself was suddenly struck in such a manner, as to lose the use of his limbs. These particulars he related in the senate-house, being carried on his couch for that purpose. And he had no sooner made an end, than he perceived, as they tell us, his strength return, and rose up and walked homè without help.

The senate were much surprised, and made a strict inquiry into the affair : the result of which was, that a certain householder had delivered up one of his slaves, who had been guilty of some offence, to his other servants, with an order to whip him through the market-place, and then put him to death. While they were executing this order, and scourging the wretch, who writhed himself, through the violence of pain, into various postures, the procession happened to come up. Many of the people that composed it were fired with indignation, for the sight was excessively disagreeable and shocking to humanity ; yet nobody gave him the least assistance : only curses and execrations were vented against the man who punished with so much cruelty. For in those times they treated their slaves with great moderation, and this was natural because they worked, and even ate with them. It was deemed a great punishment for a slave who had committed a fault to take up that piece of wood with which they supported the thill of a wagon, and carry it round the neighbourhood. For he that was thus exposed to the derision of the family and other inhabitants of the place, entirely lost his credit, and was styled *Furcifer* ; the Romans calling that piece of timber *furca*, which the Greeks call *hypostates*, that is a supporter.

When Latinus had given the senate an account of his dream, and they doubted who this ill-favoured and bad leader of the dance might be, the excessive severity of the

punishment put some of them in mind of the slave who was whipped through the market-place, and afterwards put to death. All the priests agreeing that he must be the person meant, his master had a heavy fine laid upon him, and the procession and games were exhibited anew in honour of Jupiter. Hence it appears, that Numa's religious institutions in general are very wise, and that this in particular is highly conducive to the purposes of piety, namely, that when the magistrates or priests are employed in any sacred ceremony, a herald goes before, and proclaims aloud, "*Hoc age,*" *i.e.*, be attentive to this : hereby commanding everybody to regard the solemn acts of religion, and not to suffer any business or avocation to intervene and disturb them : as well knowing, that men's attention, especially in what concerns the worship of the gods, is seldom fixed but by a sort of violence and constraint.

But it is not only in so important a case that the Romans begin anew their sacrifices, their processions, and games ; they do it for very small matters. If one of the horses that draw the chariots called *Tensæ*, in which are placed the images of the gods, happened to stumble, or if the charioteer took the reins in his left hand ; the whole procession was to be repeated. And in later ages they have set about one sacrifice thirty several times, on account of some defect or inauspicious appearance in it. Such reverence have the Romans paid to the Supreme Being.

Meantime Marcius and Tullus held secret conferences with the principal Volscians, in which they exhorted them to begin the war, while Rome was torn in pieces with factious disputes ; but a sense of honour restrained some of them from breaking the truce, which was concluded for two years. The Romans, however, furnished them

with a pretence for it, having, through some suspicion or false suggestion, caused proclamation to be made at one of the public shows or games, that all the Volscians should quit the town before sunset. Some say it was a stratagem contrived by Marcius, who suborned a person to go to the consuls, and accuse the Volscians of a design to attack the Romans during the games, and to set fire to the city. This proclamation exasperated the whole Volscian nation against the Romans ; and Tullus greatly aggravating the affront, at last persuaded them to send to Rome, to demand that the lands and cities which had been taken from them in the war should be restored. The senate, having heard what the ambassadors had to say, answered with indignation—"that the Volscians might be the first to take up arms, but the Romans would be the last to lay them down." Hereupon, Tullus summoned a general assembly of his countrymen, whom he advised to send for Marcius, and forgetting all past injuries, to rest satisfied that the service he would do them, now their ally, would greatly exceed all the damage they had received from him while their enemy.

Marcius accordingly was called in, and made an oration to the people ; who found that he knew how to speak as well as fight, and that he excelled in capacity as well as courage, and therefore they joined him in commission with Tullus. As he was afraid that the Volscians would spend much time in preparations, and so lose a favourable opportunity for action, he left it to the magistrates and other principal persons in Antium to provide troops and whatever else was necessary, while he, without making any set levies, took a number of volunteers, and with them overran the Roman territories before anybody in Rome could expect it. There he made so much booty, that the Volscians found it difficult to carry it off, and

consume it in the camp. But the great quantity of provisions he collected, and the damage he did the enemy by committing such spoil, was the least part of the service in this expedition. The great point he had in view in the whole matter, was to increase the people's suspicions of the nobility. For, while he ravaged the whole country, he was very attentive to spare the lands of the patricians, and to see that nothing should be carried off from them. Hence, the ill opinion the two parties had of each other ; and consequently the troubles grew greater than ever ; the patricians accusing the plebeians of unjustly driving out one of the bravest men in Rome, and the plebeians reproaching them with bringing Marcius upon them to indulge their revenge, and with sitting secure spectators of what others suffered by the war, while the war itself was a guard to their lands and subsistence. Marcius having thus effected his purpose, and inspired the Volscians with courage, not only to meet, but even to despise the enemy, drew off his party without being molested.

The Volscian forces assembled with great expedition and alacrity ; and they appeared so considerable, that it was thought proper to leave part to garrison their towns. while the rest marched against the Romans, Coriolanus leaving it in the option of Tullus which corps he would command, Tullus observed, that as his colleague was not at all inferior to himself in valour, and had hitherto fought with better success, he thought it most advisable for him to lead the army into the field, while himself stayed behind to provide for the defence of the towns, and to supply the troops that made the campaign with everything necessary.

Marcius strengthened still more by this division of the command, marched first against Circeii, a Roman colony ;

and as it surrendered without resistance, he would not suffer it to be plundered. After this, he laid waste the territories of the Latins, expecting that the Romans would hazard a battle for the Latins, who were their allies, and by frequent messengers called upon them for assistance. But the commons of Rome showed no alacrity in the affair, and the consuls, whose office was almost expired, were not willing to run such a risk, and therefore rejected the request of the Latins. Marcius then turned his arms against Tolerium, Labici, Pedum, and Bola, cities of Latium; which he took by assault, and because they made resistance, sold the inhabitants as slaves, and plundered their houses. At the same time he took particular care of such as voluntarily came over to him, and that they might not sustain any damage against his will, he always encamped at the greatest distance he could, and would not even touch upon their lands if he could avoid it.

Afterwards he took Bollæ, which is little more than twelve miles from Rome, where he put to the sword almost all that were of age to bear arms, and got much plunder. The rest of the Volscians, who were left as a safeguard to the towns, had not patience to remain at home any longer, but ran with their weapons in their hands to Marcius, declaring that they knew no other leader or general but him. His name and his valour were renowned through Italy. All were astonished that one man's changing sides could make so prodigious an alteration in affairs.

Nevertheless, there was nothing but disorder at Rome. The Romans refused to fight, and passed their time in cabals, seditious speeches, and mutual complaints: until news was brought that Coriolanus had laid siege to Lavinium, where the holy symbols of the gods of their

fathers were placed, and from whence they derived their original, that being the first city Æneas built. A wonderful and universal change of opinion then appeared among the people, and a very strange and absurd one among the patricians. The people were desirous to annul the sentence against Marcius, and to recall him to Rome, but the senate being assembled to deliberate on that point, finally rejected the proposition ; either out of a perverse humour of opposing whatever measure the people espoused, or perhaps, unwilling that Coriolanus should owe his return to the favour of the people ; or else having conceived some resentment against him for harassing and distressing the Romans, when he had been injured only by a part, and for showing himself an enemy to his country, in which he knew the most respectable body had both sympathised with him, and shared in his ill treatment : this resolution being announced to the commons, it was not in their power to proceed to vote or to pass a bill ; for a previous decree of the senate was necessary.

At this news Coriolanus was still more exasperated, so that quitting the siege of Lavinium, he marched with great fury towards Rome, and encamped only five miles from it, at the Fossæ Cluiliæ. The sight of him caused great terror and confusion, but for the present it appeased the sedition : for neither magistrate nor senator durst any longer oppose the people's desire to recall him. When they saw the women running up and down the streets, and the supplications and tears of the aged men at the altars of the gods, when all courage and spirit were gone, and salutary counsels were no more ; then they acknowledged that the people were right in endeavouring to be reconciled to Coriolanus, and that the senate were under a great mistake, in beginning to indulge the

passions of anger and revenge at a time when they should have renounced them. All, therefore, agreed to send ambassadors to Coriolanus to offer him liberty to return, and to entreat him to put an end to the war. Those that went on the part of the senate, being all either relations or friends of Coriolanus, expected at the first interview much kindness from a man who was thus connected with them. But it happened quite otherwise ; for, being conducted through the Volscian ranks, they found him seated in council, with a number of great officers, and with an insufferable appearance of pomp and severity. He bade them then declare their business, which they did in a very modest and humble manner, as became the state of their affairs.

When they had made an end of speaking, he answered them with much bitterness and high resentment of the injuries done him ; and as general of the Volscians, he insisted " That the Romans should restore all the cities and lands which they had taken in the former wars ; and that they should grant by decree the freedom of the city to the Volscians, as they had done to the Latins ; for that no lasting peace could be made between the two nations but upon these just and equal conditions." He gave them thirty days to consider of them ; and having dismissed the ambassadors, he immediately retired from the Roman territories.

Several among the Volscians, who for a long time had envied his reputation, and been uneasy at the interest he had with the people, availed themselves of this circumstance to calumniate and reproach him. Tullus himself was of the number. Not that he had received any particular injury from Coriolanus ; but he was led away by a passion too natural to man. It gave him pain to find his own glory obscured, and himself entirely neglected

by the Volscians, who looked upon Coriolanus as their supreme head, and thought that others might well be satisfied with that portion of power and authority which he thought proper to allow them. Hence secret hints were first given, and in their private cabals his enemies expressed their dissatisfaction, giving the name of treason to his retreat. For though he had not betrayed their cities or armies, yet they said he had traitorously given up time, by which these and all other things are both won and lost. He had allowed them a respite of no less than thirty days, knowing their affairs to be so embarrassed, that they wanted such a space to re-establish them.

Coriolanus, however, did not spend those thirty days idly. He harassed the enemy's allies, laid waste their lands, and took seven great and populous cities in that interval. The Romans did not venture to send them any succours. They were as spiritless, and as little disposed to the war as if their bodies had been relaxed and benumbed with the palsy.

When the term was expired, and Coriolanus returned with all his forces, they sent a second embassy, "To entreat him to lay aside his resentment, to draw off the Volscians from their territories, and then to proceed as should seem most conducive to the advantage of both nations. For that the Romans would not give up anything through fear; but if he thought it reasonable that the Volscians should be indulged in some particular points, they would be duly considered if they laid down their arms." Coriolanus replied, "That as general of the Volscians, he would give them no answer; but as one who was yet a citizen of Rome, he would advise and exhort them to entertain humble thoughts, and to come within three days with a ratification of the just conditions

he had proposed. At the same time he assured them, that if their resolutions should be of a different nature, it would not be safe for them to come any more into his camp with empty words."

The senate, having received the report of the ambassadors, considered the commonwealth as ready to sink in waves of a dreadful tempest, and therefore cast the last, the sacred anchor, as it is called. They ordered all the priests of the gods, the ministers and guardians of the mysteries, and all that by the ancient usage of their country practised divination by the flight of birds, to go to Coriolanus, in their robes, with the ensigns which they bear in the duties of their office, and exert their utmost endeavours to persuade him to desist from the war, and then to treat with his countrymen of articles of peace for the Volscians. When they came, he did indeed vouchsafe to admit them into the camp, but showed them no other favour, nor gave them a milder answer than the others had received: "He bade them," in short, "either accept the former proposals, or prepare for war."

When the priests returned, the Romans resolved to keep close within the city and to defend the walls; intending only to repulse the enemy, should he attack them, and placing their chief hopes on the accidents of time and fortune; for they knew of no resource within themselves: the city was full of trouble and confusion, terror and unhappy presages. At last something happened similar to what is often mentioned by Homer, but which men in general are little inclined to believe. For when on occasion of any great and uncommon event, he says,

Pallas inspired that counsel;

And again,

But some immortal power who rules the mind
Changed their resolves;

And elsewhere,

The thought spontaneous rising,
Or by some god inspired——

They despise the poet, as if, for the sake of absurd notions and incredible fables, he endeavoured to take away our liberty of will. A thing which Homer never dreamed of ; for whatever happens in the ordinary course of things, and is the effect of reason and consideration, he often ascribes to our own powers : as,

—— My own great mind
I then consulted ;

And in another place,

Achilles heard with grief ; and various thoughts
Perplexed his mighty mind ;

Once more,

—— But she in vain
Tempted Bellerophon. The noble youth
With Wisdom's shield was armed.

And in extraordinary and wonderful actions, which require some supernatural impulse and enthusiastic movement, he never introduces the Deity as depriving man of freedom of will, but as moving the will. He does not represent the heavenly power as producing the resolution, but ideas which lead to the resolution. The act, therefore, is by no means involuntary, since occasion is only given to free operations, and confidence and good hope are superadded. For either the Supreme Being must be excluded from all casualty and influence upon our actions, or it must be confessed that this is the only way in which he assists men and co-operates with them ; since it is not to be supposed that he fashions our corporeal organs, or directs the motions of our hands and feet to the purposes he designs, but that by certain motives and ideas which

he suggests, he either excites the active powers of the will, or else restrains them.

The Roman women were then dispersed in the several temples, but the greatest part and most illustrious of the matrons made their supplications at the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Among the last was Valeria, the sister of the great Publicola, a person who had done the Romans the most considerable services both in peace and war. Publicola died some time before, as we have related in his life ; but Valeria still lived in the greatest esteem ; for her life did honour to her high birth. This woman discerning, by some divine impulse, what would be the best expedient, rose and called upon the other matrons to attend her to the house of Volumnia, the mother of Coriolanus. When she entered, and found her sitting with her daughter-in-law, and with the children of Coriolanus on her lap, she approached her with her female companions, and spoke to this effect : “ We address ourselves to you, Volumnia and Virgilia, as women to women, without any decree of the senate or order of the consuls. But our god, we believe, lending a merciful ear to our prayers, put in our minds to apply to you, and to entreat you to do a thing that will not only be salutary to us and the other citizens, but more glorious for you, if you hearken to us, than the reducing their fathers and husbands from mortal enmity to peace and friendship was to the daughters of the Sabines. Come then, go along with us to Coriolanus ; join your instances to ours ! and give a true and honourable testimony to your country, that though she has received the greatest injuries from him, yet she has neither done nor resolved upon any thing against you in her anger, but restores you safe into his hands, though perhaps she may not obtain any better terms to herself on that account.”

When Valeria had thus spoken, the rest of the women joined her request. Volumnia gave them this answer :— “ Besides the share which we have in the general calamity, we are, my friends, in particular very unhappy ; since Marcius is lost to us, his glory obscured, and his virtue gone ; since we behold him surrounded by the arms of the enemies of his country, not as their prisoner, but their commander. But it is still a great misfortune to us, if our country has become so weak as to have need to repose her hopes in us. For I know not whether he will have any regard for us, since he has had none for his country, which he used to prefer to his mother, to his wife and children. Take us, however, and make what use of us you please. Lead us to him. If we can do nothing else, we can expire at his feet in supplicating for Rome.”

She then took the children of Virgilia with her, and went with the other matrons to the Volscian camp. The sight of them produced, even in the enemy, compassion and a reverential silence. Coriolanus, who then happened to be seated upon the tribunal with his principal officers, seeing the women approach, was greatly agitated and surprised. Nevertheless, he endeavoured to retain his wonted sternness and inexorable temper, though he perceived that his wife was at the head of them. But unable to resist the emotions of affection, he could not suffer them to address him as he sat. He descended from the tribunal, and ran to meet them. First he embraced his mother for a considerable time, and afterwards his wife and children, neither refraining from tears nor any other instance of natural tenderness.

When he had sufficiently indulged his passion, and perceived that his mother wanted to speak, he called the Volscian counsellors to him, and Volumnia expressed herself to this purpose : “ You see, my son, by our attire and

miserable looks, and therefore I may spare myself the trouble of declaring to what condition your banishment has reduced us. Think with yourself whether we are not the most unhappy of women, when fortune has changed the spectacle that should have been the most pleasing in the world, into the most dreadful; when Volumnia beholds her son, and Virgilia her husband, encamped in a hostile manner before the walls of his native city. And what to others is the greatest consolation under misfortune and adversity, I mean prayer to the gods, to us is rendered impracticable; for we cannot at the same time beg victory for our country and your preservation, but what our worst enemies would imprecate on us as a curse must of necessity be interwoven with our prayers. Your wife and children must either see their country perish, or you. As to my own part, I will not live to see this war decided by fortune. If I cannot persuade you to prefer friendship and union to enmity and its ruinous consequences, and so to become a benefactor to both sides, rather than the destruction of one, you must take this along with you, and prepare to expect it, that you shall not advance against your country, without trampling upon the dead body of her that bore you. For it does not become me to wait for that day, when my son shall be either led captive by his fellow-citizens, or triumph over Rome. If, indeed, I desired you to save your country by ruining the Volscians, I confess the case would be hard, and the choice difficult: for it would neither be honourable to destroy your countrymen, nor just to betray those who have placed their confidence in you. But what do we desire of you, more than deliverance from our own calamities? A deliverance which will be equally salutary, to both parties, but most to the honour of the Volscians, since it will appear that their superiority empowered

them to grant us the greatest of blessings, peace and friendship, while they themselves receive the same. If these take place, you will be acknowledged to be the principal cause of them ; if they do not, you alone must expect to bear the blame from both nations. And though the chance of war is uncertain, yet it will be the certain event of this, that if you conquer you will be a destroying demon to your country ; if you are beaten, it will be clear that by indulging your resentment, you have plunged your friends and benefactors in the greatest of misfortunes."

Coriolanus listened to his mother while she went on with her speech, without saying the least word to her ; and Volumnia, seeing him stand a long time mute after she had left speaking, proceeded again in this manner, " Why are you silent, my son ? Is it an honour to yield everything to anger and resentment, and would it be a disgrace to yield to your mother in so important a petition ? Or does it become a great man to remember the injuries done him, and would it not equally become a great and good man with the highest regard and reverence to keep in mind the benefits he has received from his parents ? Surely you, of all men, should take care to be grateful, who have suffered so extremely by ingratitude. And yet, though you have already severely punished your country, you have not made your mother the least return for her kindness. The most sacred ties both of nature and religion without any other constraint require that you should indulge me in this just and reasonable request ; but if words cannot prevail, this only resource is left." When she had said this, she threw herself at his feet, together with his wife and children ; upon which Coriolanus crying out, " O mother ! what is it you have done ! " raised her from the ground, and tenderly pressing her

hand, continued, "You have gained a victory fortunate for your country, but ruinous to me. I go vanquished by you alone." Then, after a short conference with his mother and wife in private, he sent them back to Rome, agreeably to their desire. Next morning he drew off the Volscians, who had not all the same sentiments of what had passed. Some blamed him ; others whose inclinations were for peace, found no fault : others again, though they disliked what was done, did not look upon Coriolanus as a bad man, but thought he was excusable in yielding to such powerful solicitations. However, none presumed to contradict his orders, though they followed him rather out of veneration for his virtue, than regard to his authority.

The sense of the dreadful and dangerous circumstances which the Roman people had been in by reason of the war, never appeared so strong as when they were delivered from it. For no sooner did they perceive from the walls that the Volscians were drawing off, than all the temples were opened and filled with persons crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice, as for some great victory. But in nothing was the public joy more evident than in the affectionate regard and honour which both the senate and people paid the women, whom they both considered and declared the means of their preservation. Nevertheless, when the senate decreed that whatever they thought would contribute most to their glory and satisfaction the consuls should take care to see it done, they only desired that a temple might be built to the FORTUNE OF WOMEN, the expense of which they offered to defray themselves, requiring the commonwealth to be at no other charge than that of sacrifices, and such a solemn service as was suitable to the majesty of the gods. The senate, though they commended their generosity,

ordered the temple and shrine to be erected at the public charge ; but the women contributed their money notwithstanding, and with it provided another image of the goddess, which the Romans report, when it was set up in the temple, to have uttered these words, O WOMEN ! MOST ACCEPTABLE TO THE GODS IS THIS YOUR PIOUS GIFT.

They fabulously report that this voice was repeated twice, thus offering to our faith things that appear impossible. Indeed, we will not deny that images may have sweated, may have been covered with tears, and emitted drops like blood. For wood and stone often contract a scurf and mouldiness, that produces moisture ; and they not only exhibit many different colours themselves, but receive variety of tinctures from the ambient air ; at the same time there is no reason why the Deity may not make use of these signs to announce things to come. It is also very possible that a sound like that of a sigh or a groan may proceed from a statue, by the rupture or violent separation of some of the interior parts ; but that an articulate voice and expression so clear, so full and perfect, should fall from a thing inanimate, is out of all the bounds of possibility. For neither the soul of man, nor even God himself, can utter vocal sounds, and pronounce words, without an organised body and parts fitted for utterance. Wherever then, history asserts such things, and bears us down with the testimony of many credible witnesses, we must conclude that some impression, not unlike that of sense, influenced the imagination, and produced the belief of a real sensation, as in sleep we seem to hear what we hear not, and to see what we do not see. As for those persons who are possessed with such a strong sense of religion that they cannot reject anything of this kind, they found their faith on the wonderful and incomprehensible power of God. For there is no manner of

resemblance between him and a human being, either in his nature, his wisdom, his power, or his operations. If, therefore, he performs something which we cannot effect, and executes what with us is impossible, there is nothing in this contradictory to reason ; since, though he far excels us in everything, yet the dissimilitude and distance between him and us appears most of all in the works which he hath wrought. But much knowledge of things divine, as Heraclitus affirms, escapes us through want of faith.

When Coriolanus returned, after his expedition, to Antium, Tullus, who both hated and feared him, resolved to assassinate him immediately ; being persuaded, that if he missed this, he should not have such another opportunity. First, therefore, he collected and prepared a number of accomplices, and then called upon Coriolanus to divest himself of his authority, and give an account of his conduct to the Volscians. Dreading the consequence of being reduced to a private station, while Tullus, who had so great an interest with his countrymen, was in power, he made answer, that if the Volscians required it, he would give up his commission, and not otherwise, since he had taken it at their common request ; but that he was ready to give an account of his behaviour even then, if the citizens of Antium would have it so. Hereupon, they met in full assembly, and some of the orators that were prepared for it, endeavoured to exasperate the populace against him. But when Coriolanus stood up, the violence of the tumult abated, and he had liberty to speak ; the best part of the people of Antium, and those that were most inclined to peace, appearing ready to hear him with candour, and to pass sentence with equity. Tullus was then afraid that he would make but too good a defence ; for he was an eloquent man, and the former advantages

which he had procured the nation outweighed his present offence. Nay, the very impeachment was a clear proof of the greatness of the benefits he had conferred upon them. For they would never have thought themselves injured in not conquering Rome, if they had not been near taking it through his means. The conspirators, therefore, judged it prudent not to wait any longer, or to try the multitude, and the boldest of their faction, crying out that a traitor ought not to be heard, or suffered by the Volscians to act the tyrant, and refuse to lay down his authority, rushed upon him in a body, and killed him on the spot ; not one that was present lifting a hand to defend him. It was soon evident that this was not done with the general approbation ; for they assembled from several cities to give his body an honourable burial, and adorned his monument with arms and spoils, as became a distinguished warrior and general.

When the Romans were informed of his death, they showed no sign either of favour or resentment. Only they permitted the women, at their request, to go into mourning for ten months, as they used to do for a father, a son, or a brother : this being the longest term for mourning allowed by Numa Pompilius, as we have mentioned in his life.

The Volscian affairs soon wanted the abilities of Marcius. For, first of all, in a dispute which they had with the *Æqui*, their friends and allies, which of the two nations should give a general to their armies, they proceeded to blows, and a number were killed and wounded ; and afterwards coming to a battle with the Romans, in which they were defeated, and Tullus, together with the flower of their army, slain, they were forced to accept of very disgraceful conditions of peace, by which they were reduced to the obedience of Rome, and obliged to accept of such terms as the conquerors would allow them.

ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS COMPARED.

HAVING now given a detail of all the actions of these two great men, that we thought worthy to be known and remembered, we may perceive at one glance that as to their military exploits the balance is nearly even. For both gave extraordinary proofs of courage as soldiers, and of prudence and capacities as commanders in chief; though, perhaps, some may think Alcibiades the more complete general, on account of his many successful expeditions at sea as well as land. But this is common to both, that when they had the command, and fought in person, the affairs of their country infallibly prospered, and as infallibly declined when they went over to the enemy.

As to their behaviour in point of government, if the licentiousness of Alcibiades, and his compliances with the humour of the populace, were abhorred by the wise and sober part of the Athenians, the proud and forbidding manner of Coriolanus, and his excessive attachment to the patricians, were equally detested by the Roman people. In this respect, therefore, neither of them is to be commended; though he that avails himself of popular arts, and shows too much indulgence, is less blamable than he who, to avoid the imputation of obsequiousness, treats the people with severity. It is, indeed, a disgrace to attain to power by flattering them; but on the other hand, to pursue it by acts of insolence and oppression is not only shameful, but unjust.

That Coriolanus had an openness and simplicity of manners is a point beyond dispute, whilst Alcibiades was crafty and dark in the proceedings of his administration. The latter has been most blamed for the trick which he put upon the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, as Thucydides

tells us, and by which he renewed the war. Yet this stroke of policy, though it plunged Athens again in war, rendered the alliance with the Mantineans and Argives, which was brought about by Alcibiades, much stronger and more respectable. But was not Coriolanus chargeable with a falsity too, when, as Dionysius informs us, he stirred up the Romans against the Volscians, by loading the latter with an infamous calumny, when they went to see the public games? The cause, too, makes this action the more criminal; for it was not by ambition or a rival spirit in politics that he was influenced, as Alcibiades was, but he did it to gratify his anger, a passion which, as Dion says, is ever ungrateful to its votaries. By this means they disturbed all Italy, and in his quarrel with his country destroyed many cities which had never done him any injury. Alcibiades, indeed, was the author of many evils to the Athenians, but was easily reconciled to them, when he found that they repented. Nay, when he was driven a second time into exile, he could not bear with patience the blunders committed by the new generals, nor see with indifference the dangers to which they were exposed; but observed the same conduct which Aristides is so highly extolled for with respect to Themistocles. He went in person to those generals, who he knew were not his friends, and showed them what steps it was proper for them to take. Whereas, Coriolanus directed his revenge against the whole commonwealth, though he had not been injured by the whole, but the best and most respectable part both suffered and sympathised with him. And afterwards, when the Romans endeavoured to make satisfaction for that single grievance by many embassies and much submission, he was not in the least pacified or won; but showed himself determined to prosecute a cruel war, not in order to procure his re-

turn to his native country, but to conquer and to ruin it. It may, indeed, be granted, that there was this difference in the case : Alcibiades returned to the Athenians when the Spartans, who both feared and hated him, intended to despatch him privately. But it was not so honourable in Coriolanus to desert the Volscians, who had treated him with the utmost kindness, appointed him general with full authority, and reposed in him the highest confidence : very different in this respect from Alcibiades, who was abused to their own purposes, rather than employed and trusted by the Lacedæmonians ; and who, after having been tossed about in their city and their camp, was at last obliged to put himself in the hands of Tissaphernes. But, perhaps, he made his court to the Persian in order to prevent the utter ruin of his country, to which he was desirous to return.

History informs us that Alcibiades often took bribes, which he lavished again with equal discredit upon his vicious pleasures ; while Coriolanus refused to receive even what the generals he served under would have given him with honour. Hence the behaviour of the latter was the more detested by the people in the disputes about debts ; since it was not with a view to advantage, but out of contempt, and by way of insult, as they thought, that he bore so hard upon them.

Antipater, in one of his epistles, where he speaks of the death of Aristotle the philosopher, tells us, "That great man, besides his other extraordinary talents, had the art of insinuating himself into the affections of those he conversed with." For want of this talent, the great actions and virtues of Coriolanus were odious even to those who received the benefit of them, and who, notwithstanding, could not endure that austerity which, as Plato, says, is the companion of solitude.

But as Alcibiades, on the other hand, knew how to treat those with whom he conversed with an engaging civility, it is no wonder if the glory of his exploits flourished in the favour and honourable regard of mankind, since his very faults had sometimes their grace and elegance. Hence it was, that though his conduct was often very prejudicial to Athens, yet he was frequently appointed commander in chief ; while Coriolanus, after many great achievements, with the best pretensions, sued for the consulship, and lost it. The former deserved to be hated by his countrymen, and was not ; the latter was not beloved, though at the same time he was admired.

We should, moreover, consider, that Coriolanus performed no considerable services while he commanded the armies of his country, though for the enemy against his country he did ; but that Alcibiades, both as a soldier and a general, did great things for the Athenians. When amongst his fellow-citizens, Alcibiades was superior to all the attempts of his enemies, though their calumnies prevailed against him in his absence ; whereas Coriolanus was condemned by the Romans, though present to defend himself ; and at length killed by the Volscians, against all rights indeed, whether human or divine ; nevertheless, he afforded them a colour for what they did, by granting that peace to the entreaties of the women, which he had refused to the application of the ambassadors ; by that means leaving the enmity between the two nations, and the grounds of the war entire, and losing a very favourable opportunity for the Volscians. For surely he would not have drawn off the forces without the consent of those that committed them to his conduct, if he had sufficiently regarded his duty to them.

But if, without considering the Volscians in the least, he consulted his resentment only in stirring up the war, and

put a period to it again when that was satisfied, he should not have spared the country on his mother's account, but have spared her with it ; for both his mother and wife made a part of his native city which he was besieging. But inhumanly to reject the application and entreaties of the ambassadors, and the petition of the priests, and then to consent to a retreat in favour of his mother, was not doing honour to his mother, but bringing disgrace upon his country ; since, as if it was not worthy to be saved for its own sake, it appeared to be saved only in compassion to a woman. For the favour was invidious, and so far from being engaging, that, in fact, it savoured of cruelty, and consequently was unacceptable to both parties. He retired without being won by the supplications of those he was at war with, and without consent of those for whom he undertook it. The cause of all which was, the austerity of his manners, his arrogance and inflexibility of mind, things hateful enough to the people at all times ; but, when united with ambition, savage and intolerable. Persons of his temper, as if they had no need of honours neglect to ingratiate themselves with the multitude, and yet are excessively chagrined when those are denied them. It is true, neither Metellus, nor Aristides, nor Epaminondas, were pliant to the people's humour, or could submit to flatter them ; but then they had a thorough contempt of everything that the people could either give or take away ; and when they were banished, or, on any other occasion, miscarried in the suffrages, or were condemned in large fines, they nourished no anger against their ungrateful countrymen, but were satisfied with their repentance, and reconciled to them at their request. And, surely, he who is sparing in his assiduities to the people, can but with an ill grace think of revenging any slight he may suffer, for extreme resentment, in case of disappointment in a

pursuit of honour, must be the effect of an extreme desire of it.

Alcibiades, for his part, readily acknowledged that he was charmed with honours, and that he was very uneasy at being neglected ; and, therefore, he endeavoured to recommend himself to those he had to do with, by every engaging art. But the pride of Coriolanus would not permit him to make his court to those who were capable of conferring honours upon him ; and at the same time his ambition filled him with regret and indignation when they passed him by. This, then, is the blamable part of his character ; all the rest is great and glorious. In point of temperance and disregard of riches, he is fit to be compared with the most illustrious examples of integrity in Greece, and not with Alcibiades, who, in this respect, was the most profligate of men, and had the least regard for decency and honour.

ARISTIDES.

ARISTIDES, the son of Lysimachus, was of the tribe of Antiochus, and the ward Alopece. Of his estate we have different accounts. Some say, he was always very poor, and that he left two daughters behind him, who remained a long time unmarried, on account of their poverty. But Demetrius, the Phalerean, contradicts this general opinion in his Socrates, and says there was a farm at Phalera, which went by the name of Aristides, and there he was buried. And to prove that there was a competent estate in his family, he produces three arguments. The first is taken from the office of archon, which made the year bear his name; and which fell to him by lot; and for this none took their chance but such as had an income of the first degree, consisting of five hundred measures of corn, wine, and oil, who, therefore, were called *pentacosio-medimni*. The second argument is founded on the Ostracism, by which he was banished, and which was never inflicted on the meaner sort, but only upon persons of quality, whose grandeur and family pride made them obnoxious to the people. The third and last is drawn from the tripods, which Aristides dedicated in the temple of Bacchus, on account of his victory in the public games, and which are still to be seen, with this inscription, "The tribe of Antiochus gained the victory, Aristides defrayed the charges, and Archestratus was the author of the play."

But this last argument, though in appearance, the

strongest of all, is really a very weak one. For Epaminondas, who, as everybody knows, lived and died poor, and Plato, the philosopher, who was not rich, exhibited very splendid shows: the one was at the expense of a concert of flutes at Thebes, and the other of an entertainment of singing and dancing performed by boys at Athens; Dion having furnished Plato with the money, and Pelopidas supplied Epaminondas. For why should good men be always averse to the presents of their friends? while they think it mean and ungenerous to receive anything for themselves, to lay up, or to gratify an avaricious temper, they need not refuse such offers as serve the purposes of honour and magnificence, without any views of profit.

As to the tripods, inscribed with ARISTIDES, Panætius shows plainly that Demetrius was deceived by the name. For, according to the registers from the Persian to the end of the Peloponnesian war, there were only two of the name of Aristides who carried the prize in the choral exhibitions, and neither of them was the son of Lysimachus: for the former was son to Xenophilus, and the latter lived long after, as appears from the characters, which were not in use till after Euclid's time and likewise from the name of the poet Archestratus, which is not found in any record or author during the Persian wars; whereas, mention is often made of a poet of that name who brought his pieces upon the stage in the time of the Peloponnesian war. But this argument of Panætius should not be admitted without farther examination.

And as for the Ostracism, every man that was distinguished by birth, reputation, or eloquence, was liable to suffer by it; since it fell even upon Damon, preceptor to Pericles, because he was looked upon as a man of superior parts and policy. Besides, Idomeneus tells us, that Aristides came to be archon not by lot, but by particular ap-

pointment of the people. And if he was archon after the battle of Plataea, as Demetrius himself writes, it is very probable that, after such great actions, and so much glory, his virtue might gain him that office which others obtained by their wealth. But it is plain that Demetrius laboured to take the imputation of poverty, as if it were some great evil, not only from Aristides, but from Socrates too; who, he says, besides a house of his own, had seventy minæ at interest in the hands of Crito.

Aristides had a particular friendship for Clisthenes, who settled the popular government at Athens, after the expulsion of the tyrants; yet he had, at the same time, the greatest veneration for Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian, whom he considered as the most excellent of lawgivers: and this led him to be a favourer of aristocracy, in which he was always opposed by Themistocles, who listed in the party of the commons. Some, indeed, say, that being brought up together from their infancy, when boys, they were always at variance, not only in serious matters, but in their very sports and diversions; and their tempers were discovered from the first by that opposition. The one was insinuating, daring, and artful, variable, and at the same time impetuous in his pursuits: the other was solid and steady, inflexibly just, incapable of using any falsehood, flattery, or deceit, even at play. But Aristo of Chios writes, that their enmity, which afterwards came to such a height, took its rise from love.

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Themistocles, who was an agreeable companion, gained many friends, and became respectable in the strength of his popularity. Thus, when he was told, that "he would govern the Athenians extremely well, if he would but do it without respect of persons;" he said, "May I never

sit on a tribunal where my friends shall not find more favour from me than strangers."

Aristides, on the contrary, took a method of his own in conducting the administration. For he would neither consent to any injustice to oblige his friends, nor yet disoblige them, by denying all they asked ; and as he saw that many, depending on their interest and friends, were tempted to do unwarrantable things, he never endeavoured after that support, but declared that a good citizen should place his whole strength and security in advising and doing what is just and right. Nevertheless, as Themistocles made many rash and dangerous motions, and endeavoured to break his measures in every step of government, he was obliged to oppose him as much in his turn, partly by way of self-defence, and partly to lessen his power, which daily increased through the favour of the people. For he thought it better that the commonwealth should miss some advantages, than that Themistocles, by gaining his point, should come at last to carry all before him. Hence it was, that one day when Themistocles proposed something advantageous to the public, Aristides opposed it strenuously, and with success ; but as he went out of the assembly, he could not forbear saying, "The affairs of the Athenians cannot prosper, except they throw Themistocles and myself into the barathrum." Another time, when he intended to propose a decree to the people, he found it strongly disputed in the council, but at last he prevailed ; perceiving its inconveniences, however, by the preceding debates, he put a stop to it, just as the president was going to put it to the question, in order to its being confirmed by the people. Very often he offered his sentiments by a third person, lest by the opposition of Themistocles to him, the public good should be obstructed.

In the changes and fluctuations of the government, his

firmness was wonderful. Neither elated with honours, nor discomposed with ill success, he went on in a moderate and steady manner, persuaded that his country had a claim to his services, without the reward either of honour, or profit. Hence it was, that when those verses of *Æschylus* concerning *Amphiaraus* were repeated on the stage,

To be, and not to seem, is this man's maxim ;
His mind reposing on its proper wisdom,
And wants no other praise———

the eyes of the people in general were fixed on *Aristides*, as the man to whom this great encomium was most applicable. Indeed, he was capable of resisting the suggestions not only of favour and affection, but of resentment and enmity too, wherever justice was concerned. For it is said, that when he was carrying on a prosecution against his enemy, and after he had brought his charge, the judges were going to pass sentence, without hearing the person accused, he rose up to his assistance, entreating that he might be heard, and have the privilege which the laws allowed. Another time when he himself sat judge between two private persons, and one of them observed, "That his adversary had done many injuries to *Aristides*:" "Tell me not that," said he, "but what injury he has done to thee ; for it is thy cause I am judging, not my own."

When appointed public treasurer, he made it appear, that not only those of his time, but the officers that preceded him, had applied a great deal of the public money to their own use, and particularly *Themistocles* ;

———For he, with all his wisdom,
Could ne'er command his hands.

For this reason, when *Aristides* gave in his accounts, *Themistocles* raised a strong party against him, accused

him of misapplying the public money, and (according to Idomeneus) got him condemned. But the principal and most respectable of the citizens incensed at this treatment of Aristides, interposed and prevailed, not only that he might be excused the fine, but chosen again chief treasurer. He now pretended that his former proceedings were too strict, and carrying a gentler hand over those that acted under him, suffered them to pilfer the public money, without seeming to find them out, or reckoning strictly with them : so that fattened on the spoils of their country, they lavished their praises on Aristides, and heartily espousing his cause, begged of the people to continue him in the same department. But when the Athenians were going to confirm it to him by their suffrages, he gave them this severe rebuke : " While I managed your finances with all the fidelity of an honest man, I was loaded with calumnies ; and now when I suffer them to be a prey to public robbers, I am become a mighty good citizen : but I assure you, I am more ashamed of the present honour, than I was of the former disgrace ; and it is with indignation and concern that I see you esteem it more meritorious to oblige ill men, than to take proper care of the public revenue." By thus speaking and discovering their frauds, he silenced those that recommended him with so much noise and bustle, but at the same time received the truest and most valuable praise from the worthiest of the citizens.

About this time Datis, who was sent by Darius, under pretence of chastising the Athenians for burning Sardis, but in reality to subdue all Greece, arrived with his fleet at Marathon, and began to ravage the neighbouring country. Among the generals to whom the Athenians gave the management of this war, Miltiades was first in dignity, and the next to him in reputation and authority

was Aristides. In a council of war that was then held, Miltiades voted for giving the enemy battle, and Aristides seconding him, added no little weight to his scale. The generals commanded by turns, each his day; but when it came to Aristides' turn, he gave up his right to Miltiades, thus showing his colleagues, that it was no disgrace to follow the directions of the wise, but that, on the contrary, it answered several honourable and salutary purposes. By this means, he laid the spirit of contention, and bringing them to agree in, and follow the best opinion, he strengthened the hands of Miltiades, who now had the absolute and undivided command; the other generals no longer insisting on their days, but entirely submitting to his orders.

In this battle, the main body of the Athenian army was pressed the hardest, because there for a long time the barbarians made their greatest efforts against the tribes Leontis and Antiochis; and Themistocles and Aristides, who belonged to those tribes, exerting themselves, at the head of them, with all the spirit of emulation, behaved with so much vigour, that the enemy were put to flight, and driven back to their ships. But the Greeks perceiving that the barbarians, instead of sailing to the isles, to return to Asia, were driven in by the wind and currents towards Attica, and fearing that Athens, unprovided for its defence, might become an easy prey to them, marched home with nine tribes, and used such expedition, that they reached the city in one day.

Aristides was left at Marathon with his own tribe, to guard the prisoners and the spoils; and he did not disappoint the public opinion: for though there was much gold and silver scattered about, and rich garments and other booty in abundance were found in the tents and ships which they had taken, yet he neither had an inclination

to touch anything himself, nor permitted others to do it. But notwithstanding his care, some enriched themselves unknown to him : among whom was Callias, the torch-bearer. One of the barbarians happening to meet him in a private place, and probably taking him for a king, on account of his long hair and the fillet which he wore, prostrated himself before him ; and taking him by the hand, showed him a great quantity of gold that was hid in a well. But Callias, not less cruel than unjust, took away the gold, and then killed the man that had given him information of it, lest he should mention the thing to others. Hence, they tell us, it was, that the comic writers called his family Laccopluti, *i.e.*, enriched by the well, jesting upon the place from whence their founder drew his wealth.

The year following Aristides was appointed to the office of *archon*, which gave his name to that year ; though, according to Demetrius the Phalerean, he was not archon till after the battle of Plataea, a little before his death. But in the public registers we find not any of the name of Aristides in the list of archons, after Xanthippides, in whose archonship Mardonius was beaten at Plataea ; whereas his name is on record immediately after Phanippus, who was archon the same year that the battle was gained at Marathon.

Of all the virtues of Aristides, the people were most struck with his justice, because the public utility was the most promoted by it. Thus he, though a poor man and a commoner, gained the royal and divine title of the Just, which kings and tyrants have never been fond of. It has been their ambition to be styled Poliorceti, takers of cities ; Cerauni, thunderbolts ; Nicanors, conquerors. Nay, some have chosen to be called Eagles and Vultures, preferring the fame of power to that of virtue. Whereas the Deity

himself, to whom they want to be compared, is distinguished by three things, immortality, power, and virtue ; and of these, virtue is the most excellent and divine. For space and the elements are everlasting, earthquakes, lightning, storms, and torrents have an amazing power ; but as for justice, nothing participates of that, without reasoning and thinking on God ; whereas man entertains three different sentiments with respect to the gods, namely admiration, fear, and esteem, it should seem that they admire and think them happy by reason of their freedom from death and corruption, that they fear and dread them because of their power and sovereignty, and that they love, honour, and reverence them for their justice. Yet, though affected these three different ways, they desire only the two first properties of the Deity ; immortality which our nature will not admit of, and power which depends chiefly upon fortune ; while they foolishly neglect virtue, the only divine quality in their power ; not considering that it is justice alone, which makes the life of those flourish most in prosperity and high stations, heavenly and divine, while injustice renders it grovelling and brutal.

Aristides at first was loved and respected for his surname of the Just, and afterwards envied as much ; the latter, chiefly by management of Themistocles, who gave it out among the people, that Aristides had abolished the courts of judicature, by drawing the arbitration of all causes to himself, and so was insensibly gaining sovereign power, though without guards and the other ensigns of it. The people, elevated with the late victory, thought themselves capable of everything, and the highest respect little enough for them. Uneasy therefore at finding that any one citizen rose to such extraordinary honour and distinction, they assembled at Athens from all the towns in Attica, and banished Aristides by the Ostracism ;

disguising their envy of his character under the specious pretence of guarding against tyranny.

The Ostracism was not a punishment for crimes and misdemeanours, but was very decently called a humbling and lessening of some excessive influence and power. In reality it was a mild gratification of envy; for by this means, whoever was offended at the growing greatness of another, discharged his spleen, not in anything cruel or inhuman, but only in voting a ten years' banishment. But when it once began to fall upon mean and profligate persons, it was for ever after entirely laid aside; Hyperbolus being the last that was exiled by it.

The reason of its turning upon such a wretch was this. Alcibiades and Nicias, who were persons of the greatest interest in Athens, had each his party; but perceiving that the people were going to proceed to the Ostracism, and that one of them was likely to suffer by it, they consulted together, and joining interests, caused it to fall upon Hyperbolus. Hereupon the people, full of indignation at finding this kind of punishment dishonoured and turned into ridicule, abolished it entirely.

The Ostracism (to give a summary account of it) was conducted in the following manner:—Every citizen took a piece of a broken pot, or a shell, on which he wrote the name of the person he wanted to have banished, and carried it to a part of the market-place that was enclosed with wooden rails. The magistrates then counted the number of the shells: and if it amounted not to six thousand, the Ostracism stood for nothing: if it did they sorted the shells, and the person whose name was found on the greatest number, was declared an exile for ten years, but with permission to enjoy his estate.

At the time that Aristides was banished, when the people were inscribing the names on the shells, it is re-

ported that an illiterate burgher came to Aristides, whom he took for some ordinary person, and giving him his shell, desired him to write Aristides upon it. The good man, surprised at the adventure, asked him, "Whether Aristides had ever injured him?" "No," said he, "nor do I even know him; but it vexes me to hear him everywhere called the Just." Aristides made no answer, but took the shell, and having written his own name upon it returned it to the man. When he quited Athens, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and agreeably to his character, made a prayer, very different from that of Achilles; namely, "That the people of Athens might never see the day, which should force them to remember Aristides."

Three years after, when Xerxes was passing through Thessaly and Bœotia by long marches to Attica, the Athenians reversed this decree, and by a public ordinance recalled all the exiles. The principal inducement was their fear of Aristides: for they were apprehensive that he would join the enemy, corrupt great part of the citizens, and draw them over to the interests of the barbarians. But they little knew the man. Before this ordinance of theirs, he had been exciting and encouraging the Greeks to defend their liberty; and after it, when Themistocles was appointed to the command of the Athenian forces, he assisted him both with his person and counsel; not disdaining to raise his worst enemy to the highest pitch of glory, for the public good. For when Eurybiades, the commander-in-chief, had resolved to quit Salamis, and before he could put his purpose into execution, the enemy's fleet, taking advantage of the night, had surrounded the islands, and in a manner blocked up the straits, without any one's perceiving that the confederates were so hemmed in, Aristides sailed the same night from

Ægina, and passed with the utmost danger through the Persian fleet. As soon as he reached the tent of Themistocles, he desired to speak with him in private, and then addressed him in these terms :—" You and I, Themistocles, if we are wise, shall now bid adieu to our vain and childish disputes, and enter upon a nobler and more salutary contention, striving which of us shall contribute most to the preservation of Greece ; you in doing the duty of a general, and I in assisting you with my service and advice. I find that you alone have hit upon the best measures, in advising to come immediately to an engagement in the straits. And though the allies oppose your design, the enemy promote it. For the sea on all sides is covered with their ships, so that the Greeks, whether they will or not, must come to action, and acquit themselves like men, there being no room left for flight."

Themistocles answered, " I could have wished, Aristides, that you had not been beforehand with me in this noble emulation ; but I will endeavour to outdo this happy beginning of yours by my future actions." At the same time he acquainted him with the stratagem he had contrived to ensnare the barbarians, and then desired him to go and make it appear to Eurybiades, that there could be no safety for them without venturing a sea-fight there ; for he knew that Aristides had much greater influence over him than he. In the council of war assembled on this occasion, Cleocritus the Corinthian said to Themistocles, " Your advice is not agreeable to Aristides, since he is here present and says nothing." " You are mistaken," said Aristides, " for I should not have been silent, had not the counsel of Themistocles been the most eligible. And I now hold my peace, not out of regard to the man, but because I approve his sentiments." This, therefore, was what the Grecian officers fixed upon.

Aristides then perceiving that the little island of Psyttalia, which lies in the straits over against Salamis, was full of the enemy's troops, put on board the small transports a number of the bravest and most resolute of his countrymen, and made a descent upon the island : where he attacked [the barbarians with such fury that they were all cut to pieces, except some of the principal persons, who were made prisoners. Among the latter were three sons of Sandauce the king's sister, whom he sent immediately to Themistocles ; and it is said, that by the direction of Euphrantides the diviner, in pursuance of some oracle, they were all sacrificed to Bacchus Omestes. After this, Aristides placed a strong guard round the island, to take notice of such as were driven ashore there, that so none of his friends might perish, nor any of the enemy escape. For about Psyttalia the battle raged the most, and the greatest efforts were made : as appears from the trophy erected there.

When the battle was over, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said, " That great things were already done, but greater still remained ; for they might conquer Asia in Europe, by making all the sail they could to the Hellespont, to break down the bridge." But Aristides exclaimed against the proposal, and bade him think no more of it, but rather consider and inquire what would be the speediest method of driving the Persians out of Greece, lest, finding himself shut up with such immense forces, and no way left to escape, necessity might bring him to fight with the most desperate courage. Hereupon, Themistocles sent to Xerxes the second time, by the eunuch Arnaces, one of the prisoners, to acquaint him privately, that the Greeks were strongly inclined to make the best of their way to the Hellespont, to destroy the bridge which he had left there ; but that in order to save his

royal person. Themistocles was using his best endeavours to dissuade them from it. Xerxes, terrified at this news, made all possible haste to the Hellespont: leaving Mardonius behind him with the land forces, consisting of three hundred thousand of his best troops.

In the strength of such an army Mardonius was very formidable: and the fears of the Greeks were heightened by his menacing letters, which were in this style: "At sea in your wooden towers you have defeated landmen, unpractised at the oar; but there are still the wide plains of Thessaly and the fields of Bœotia, where both horse and foot may fight to the best advantage." To the Athenians he wrote in particular, being authorised by the king to assure them, that their city should be rebuilt, large sums bestowed upon them, and the sovereignty of Greece put in their hands, if they would take no further share in the war.

As soon as the Lacedæmonians had intelligence of these proposals, they were greatly alarmed, and sent ambassadors to Athens, to entreat the people to send their wives and children to Sparta, and to accept from them what was necessary for the support of such as were in years: for the Athenians having lost both their city and their country, were certainly in great distress. Yet when they had heard what the ambassadors had to say, they gave them such an answer, by the direction of Aristides, as can never be sufficiently admired. They said, "They could easily forgive their enemies for thinking that everything was to be purchased with silver and gold, because they had no idea of anything more excellent: but they could not help being displeased that the Lacedæmonians should regard only their present poverty and distress, and, forgetful of their virtue and magnanimity, call upon them to fight for Greece for the paltry consideration of a supply

of provisions." Aristides having drawn up his answer in the form of a decree, and called all the ambassadors to an audience in full assembly, bade those of Sparta tell the Lacedæmonians, "That the people of Athens would not take all the gold either above or under ground for the liberties of Greece."

As for those of Mardonius, he pointed to the sun, and told them, "As long as this luminary shines, so long will the Athenians carry on war with the Persians for their country which has been laid waste, and for their temples which have been profaned and burned." He likewise procured an order, that the priests should solemnly execrate all that should dare to propose an embassy to the Medes, or talk of deserting the alliance of Greece.

When Mardonius had entered Attica the second time, the Athenians retired again to Salamis. And Aristides, who on that occasion went ambassador to Sparta, complained to the Lacedæmonians of their delay and neglect in abandoning Athens once more to the barbarians; and pressed them to hasten to the succour of that part of Greece which was not yet fallen into the enemy's hands. The Ephori gave him the hearing, but seemed attentive to nothing but mirth and diversion, for it was the festival of Hyacinthus. At night, however, they selected five thousand Spartans, with orders to take each seven helots with him, and to march before morning, unknown to the Athenians. When Aristides came to make his remonstrances again, they smiled, and told him, "That he did but trifle or dream, since their army was at that time as far as Orestium, on their march against the foreigners," for so the Lacedæmonians called the barbarians. Aristides told them, "It was not a time to jest, or to put their stratagems in practice upon their friends, but on their enemies." This is the account Idomeneus gives of the

matter; but in Aristides's decree, Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides are said to have gone upon the embassy, and not Aristides.

Aristides, however, was appointed to command the Athenians in the battle that was expected, and marched with eight thousand foot to Plataea. There Pausanias, who was commander in chief of all the confederates, joined him with his Spartans, and the other Grecian troops arrived daily in great numbers. The Persian army, which was encamped along the river Asopus, occupied an immense tract of ground; and they had fortified a spot ten furlongs square, for their baggage and other things of value.

In the Grecian army there was a diviner of Elis, named Tisamenus, who foretold certain victory to Pausanias and the Greeks in general, if they did not attack the enemy, but stood only upon the defensive. And Aristides, having sent to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle, received this answer: "The Athenians shall be victorious if they address their prayers to Jupiter, to Juno of Cithæron, to Pan, and to the nymphs Sphragitides; if they sacrifice to the heroes Androcrates, Leueon, Pisander, Democrates, Hypsion, Actæon, and Polydius; and if they fight only in their own country, on the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres, and of Proserpine." This oracle perplexed Aristides not a little. For the heroes to whom he was commanded to sacrifice, were the ancestors of the Plataeans, and the cave of the nymphs Sphragitides in one of the summits of mount Cithæron, opposite the quarter where the sun sets in the summer; and it is said, in that cave there was formerly an oracle, by which many who dwelt in those parts were inspired, and therefore called Nympholepti. On the other hand, to have the promise of victory only on condition of fighting in their own country, on the plain

of the Eleusinian Ceres, was calling the Athenians back to Attica, and removing the seat of war.

In the meantime Arimnestus, general of the Plataeans, dreamed that Jupiter the Preserver, asked him, "What the Greeks had determined to do?" To which he answered, "To-morrow they will decamp and march to Eleusis, to fight the barbarians there, agreeably to the oracle." The god replied, "They quite mistake its meaning; for the place intended by the oracle is in the environs of Plataea, and if they seek for it, they will find it." The matter being so clearly revealed to Arimnestus, as soon as he awoke he sent for the oldest and most experienced of his countrymen; and having advised with them, and made the best inquiry, he found that near Husiæ, at the foot of mount Cithæron, there was an ancient temple called the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres and of Proserpine. He immediately conducted Aristides to the place, which appeared to be very commodious for drawing up an army of foot, that was deficient in cavalry, because the bottom of mount Cithæron extending as far as the temple, made the extremities of the field on that side inaccessible to the horse. In that place was also the chapel of the hero Androcrates, quite covered with thick bushes and trees. And that nothing might be wanting to fulfil the oracle, and confirm their hopes of victory, the Plataeans resolved, at the motion of Arimnestus, to remove their boundaries between their country and Attica, and for the sake of Greece, to make a grant of those lands to the Athenians, that, according to the oracle, they might fight in their own territories. This generosity of the Plataeans gained them so much renown, that many years after, when Alexander had conquered Asia, he ordered the walls of Plataea to be rebuilt, and proclamation to be made by an herald at the Olympic games,

"That the king granted the Plateans this favour on account of their virtue and generosity, in giving up their lands to the Greeks in the Persian war, and otherwise behaving with the greatest vigour and spirit."

When the confederates came to have their several posts assigned them, there was a great dispute between the Tegetæ and the Athenians; the Tegetæ insisting, that, as the Lacedæmonians were posted in the right wing, the left belonged to them, and in support of their claim, setting forth the gallant actions of their ancestors. As the Athenians expressed great indignation at this, Aristides stepped forward and said, "The time will not permit us to contest with the Tegetæ the renown of their ancestors and their personal bravery; but to the Spartans and to the rest of the Greeks we say, that the post neither gives valour nor takes it away; and whatever post you assign us, we will endeavour to do honour to it, and take care to reflect no disgrace upon our former achievements. For we are not come hither to quarrel with our allies, but to fight our enemies; not to make encomiums upon our forefathers, but to approve our own courage in the cause of Greece. And the battle will soon show what value our country should set on every state, every general, and private man." After this speech, the council of war declared in favour of the Athenians, and gave them the command of the left wing.

While the fate of Greece was in suspense, the affairs of the Athenians were in a very dangerous posture. For those of the best families and fortunes being reduced by the war, and seeing their authority in the state and their distinction gone with their wealth, and others rising to honours and employments, assembled privately in a house at Plataea, and conspired to abolish the democracy; and, if that did not succeed, to ruin all Greece, and be-

tray it to the barbarians. When Aristides got intelligence of the conspiracy thus entered into in the camp, and found that numbers were corrupted, he was greatly alarmed at its happening at such a crisis, and unresolved at first how to proceed. At length he determined neither to leave the matter uninquired into, nor yet to sift it thoroughly, because he knew not how far the contagion had spread, and thought it advisable to sacrifice justice, in some degree, to the public good, by forbearing to prosecute many that were guilty. He, therefore, caused eight persons only to be apprehended, and of those eight, not more than two, who were most guilty, to be proceeded against, *Æschines* of *Lampra*, and *Agesias* of *Acharnæ*; and even they made their escape during the prosecution. As for the rest he discharged them, and gave them, and all that were concerned in the plot, opportunity to recover their spirits and change their sentiments, as they might imagine that nothing was made out against them; but he admonished them at the same time, "That the battle was the great tribunal, where they might clear themselves of the charge, and show that they had never followed any counsels but such as were just and useful to their country."

After this, *Mardonius*, to make a trial of the Greeks, ordered his cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish with them. The Greeks were all encamped at the foot of *Mount Cithæron*, in strong and stony places; except the *Megarensians*, who, to the number of three thousand, were posted on the plain, and by this means suffered much by the enemy's horse, who charged them on every side. Unable to stand against such superior numbers, they despatched a messenger to *Pausanias*, for assistance. *Pausanias* hearing their request, and seeing the camp of the *Megarensians* darkened with the shower

of darts and arrows, and that they were forced to contract themselves within a narrow compass, was at a loss what to resolve on ; for he knew that his heavy-armed Spartans were not fit to act against cavalry. He endeavoured, therefore, to awaken the emulation of the generals, and other officers that were about him, that they might make it a point of honour voluntarily to undertake the defence and succour of the Megarensians. But they all declined it except Aristides, who made an offer of his Athenians, and gave immediate orders to Olympiodorus, one of the most active of his officers, to advance with his select band of three hundred men and some archers intermixed. They were all ready in a moment, and ran to attack the barbarians. Masistius, general of the Persian horse, a man distinguished for his strength and graceful mien, no sooner saw them advancing, than he spurred his horse against them. The Athenians received him with great firmness, and a sharp conflict ensued ; for they considered this as a specimen of the success of the whole battle. At last Masistius's horse was wounded with an arrow, and threw his rider, who could not recover himself because of the weight of his armour, nor yet be easily slain by the Athenians, that strove which should do it first, because not only his body and his head, but his legs and arms, were covered with plates of gold, brass, and iron. But the vizor of his helmet leaving part of his face open, one of them pierced him in the eye with the staff of his spear, and so despatched him. The Persians then left the body and fled.

The importance of this achievement appeared to the Greeks, not by the number of their enemies lying dead upon the field, for that was but small, but by the mourning of the barbarians, who, in their grief for

Masistius, cut off their hair, and the manes of their horses and mules, and filled all the plain with their cries and groans, as having lost the man that was next to Mardonius in courage and authority.

After this engagement with the Persian cavalry, both sides forbore the combat a long time; for the diviners, from the entrails of the victims, equally assured the Persians and the Greeks of victory, if they stood upon the defensive, and threatened a total defeat to the aggressors. But at length Mardonius, seeing but a few days' provision left, and that the Grecian forces increased daily by the arrival of fresh troops, grew uneasy at the delay, and resolved to pass the Asopus next morning by break of day, and fall upon the Greeks, whom he hoped to find unprepared. For this purpose he gave his orders over night. But at midnight a man on horseback softly approached the Grecian camp, and addressing himself to the sentinels, bade them call Aristides the Athenian general to him. Aristides came immediately, and the unknown person said, "I am Alexander, king of Macedon, who, for the friendship I bear you, have exposed myself to the greatest dangers to prevent your fighting under the disadvantage of a surprise. For Mardonius will give you battle to-morrow; not that he is induced to do it by any well-grounded hope or prospect of success, but by the scarcity of provisions; for the soothsayers by their ominous sacrifices and ill-boding oracles, endeavour to divert him from it; but necessity forces him either to hazard a battle, or to sit still and see his army perish through want." Alexander, having thus opened himself to Aristides, desired him to take notice and avail himself of the intelligence, but not to communicate it to any other person. Aristides, however, thought it wrong to conceal it from Pausanias, who was commander-in-chief;

but he promised not to mention the thing to any one besides, until after the battle ; and assured him at the same time, that if the Greeks proved victorious, the whole army should be acquainted with this kindness and glorious daring conduct of Alexander.

The king of Macedon, having despatched this affair, returned, and Aristides went immediately to the tent of Pausanias, and laid the whole before him ; whereupon the other officers were sent for, and ordered to put the troops under arms, and have them ready for battle. At the same time, according to Herodotus, Pausanias informed Aristides of his design to alter the disposition of the army, by removing the Athenians from the left wing to the right, and setting them to oppose the Persians ; against whom they would act with the more bravery, because they had made proof of their manner of fighting, and with greater assurance of success, because they had already succeeded. As for the left wing, which would have to do with those Greeks that had embraced the Median interest, he intended to command there himself. The other Athenian officers thought Pausanias carried it with a partial and high hand, in moving them up and down, like so many helots, at his pleasure, to face the boldest of the enemy's troops, while he left the rest of the confederates in their posts. But Aristides told them they were under a great mistake. "You contended," said he, "a few days ago, with the Tegetæ, for the command of the left wing, and valued yourselves upon the preference ; and now when the Spartans voluntarily offer you the right wing, which is in effect giving up to you the command of the whole army, you are neither pleased with the honour, nor sensible of the advantage of not being obliged to fight against your countrymen and those who have the same origin with you, but against barbarians, your natural enemies."

These words had such an effect upon the Athenians, that they readily agreed to change posts with the Spartans, and nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations to act with bravery. They observed, "That the enemy brought neither better arms nor bolder hearts than they had at Marathon, but came with the same bows, the same embroidered vests and profusion of gold, the same effeminate bodies, and the same unmanly souls. For our part," continued they, "we have the same weapons and strength of body, together with additional spirits from our victories; and we do not, like them, fight for a tract of land, or a single city, but for the trophies of Marathon and Salamis, that the people of Athens, and not Miltiades and fortune, may have the glory of them."

While they were thus encouraging each other, they hastened to their new post. But the Thebans being informed of it by deserters, sent and acquainted Mardonius, who, either out of fear of the Athenians, or from an ambition to try his strength with the Lacedæmonians, immediately moved the Persians to his right wing, and the Greeks that were of his party to the left, opposite to the Athenians. This change in the disposition of the enemy's army being known, Pausanias made another movement, and passed to the right; which Mardonius perceiving, returned to the left, and so still faced the Lacedæmonians. Thus the day passed without any action at all. In the evening the Grecians held a council of war, in which they determined to decamp, and take possession of a place more commodious for water, because the springs of their present camp were disturbed and spoiled by the enemy's horse.

When night was come, and the officers began to march at the head of their troops to the place marked out for a

new camp, the soldiers followed unwillingly, and could not without great difficulty be kept together; for they were no sooner out of their first entrenchments than many of them made off to the city of Plataea, and, either dispersing there, or pitching their tents without any regard to discipline, were in the utmost confusion. It happened that the Lacedæmonians alone were left behind, though against their will. For Amompharetus, an intrepid man, who had long been eager to engage, and uneasy to see the battle so often put off and delayed, plainly called this decampment a disgraceful flight, and declared, "He would not quit his post, but remain there with his troops, and stand it out against Mardonius." And when Pausanias represented to him that this measure was taken in pursuance of the counsel and determination of the confederates, he took up a large stone with both his hands, and throwing it at Pausanias's feet, said, "This is my ballot for a battle; and I despise the timid counsels and resolves of others." Pausanias was at a loss what to do, but at last sent to the Athenians, who by this time were advancing, and desired them to halt a little, that they might all proceed in a body; at the same time he marched with the rest of the troops towards Plataea, hoping by that means to draw Amompharetus after him.

By this time it was day, and Mardonius, who was not ignorant that the Greeks had quitted their camp, put his army in order of battle, and bore down upon the Spartans, the barbarians setting up such shouts, and clanking their arms in such a manner, as if they expected to have only the plundering of fugitives, and not a battle. And indeed it was like to have been so; for though Pausanias, upon seeing this motion of Mardonius, stopped, and ordered every one to his post, yet, either confused with his resentment against Amompharetus, or with the

sudden attack of the Persians, he forgot to give his troops the word; and for that reason they neither engaged readily, nor in a body, but continued scattered in small parties, even after the fight was begun.

Pausanias in the meantime offered sacrifice; but seeing no auspicious tokens, he commanded the Lacedæmonians to lay down their shields at their feet, and to stand still, and attend his orders, without opposing the enemy. After this he offered other sacrifices, the Persian cavalry still advancing. They were now within bowshot, and some of the Spartans were wounded, among whom was Callicrates, a man that for size and beauty exceeded the whole army. This brave soldier being shot with an arrow, and ready to expire, said, "He did not lament his death, because he came out resolved to shed his blood for Greece; but he was sorry to die without having once drawn his sword against the enemy."

If the terror of this situation was great, the steadiness and patience of the Spartans was wonderful, for they made no defence against the enemy's charge, but, waiting the time of Heaven and their general, suffered themselves to be wounded and slain in their ranks.

Some say that, as Pausanias was sacrificing and praying at a little distance from the lines, certain Lydians coming suddenly upon him, seized and scattered the sacred utensils, and that Pausanias and those about him, having no weapons, drove them away with rods and scourges. And they will have it to be in imitation of this assault of the Lydians that they celebrate a festival at Sparta now, in which boys are scourged round the altar, and which concludes with a march called the Lydian march.

Pausanias, extremely afflicted at these circumstances, while the priest offered sacrifice upon sacrifice, turning towards the temple of Juno, and with tears trickling

from his eyes, and uplifted hands, prayed to that goddess the protectress of Cithæron, and to the other tutelar deities of the Plataeans, "That if the fates had not decreed that the Grecians should conquer, they might at least be permitted to sell their lives dear, and show the enemy by their deeds that they had brave men and experienced soldiers to deal with."

The very moment that Pausanias was uttering this prayer, the tokens so much desired appeared in the victim and the diviners announced him victory. Orders were immediately given for the whole army to come to action, and the Spartan phalanx all at once had the appearance of some fierce animal, erecting his bristles, and preparing to exert his strength. The barbarians then saw clearly that they had to do with men who were ready to spill the last drop of their blood : and therefore, covering themselves with their targets, shot their arrows against the Lacedæmonians. The Lacedæmonians, moving forward in a close compact body, fell upon the Persians, and forcing their targets from them, directed their pikes against their faces and breasts, and brought many of them to the ground. However, when they were down, they continued to give proofs of their strength and courage, for they laid hold on the pikes with their naked hands and broke them : and then, springing up, betook themselves to their swords and battle-axes, and wresting away their enemies' shields, and grappling close with them, made a long and obstinate resistance.

The Athenians all this while stood still, expecting the Lacedæmonians ; but when the noise of the battle reached them, and an officer, as we are told, despatched by Pausanias, gave them account that the engagement was begun, they hastened to his assistance : and as they were crossing the plain towards the place where the noise was

heard, the Greeks, who sided with the enemy, pushed against them. As soon as Aristides saw them he advanced a considerable way before his troops, and calling out to them with all his force, conjured them by the gods of Greece, "To renounce this impious war, and not oppose the Athenians who were running to the succour of those that were now the first to hazard their lives for the safety of Greece." But finding that, instead of hearkening to him, they approached in a hostile manner, he quitted his design of going to assist the Lacedæmonians, and joined battle with these Greeks, who were about five thousand in number. But the greatest part soon gave way, and retreated, especially when they heard that the barbarians were put to flight. The sharpest part of this action is said to have been with the Thebans, among whom the first in quality and power, having embraced the Median interest, by their authority carried out the common people against their inclination.

The battle, thus divided into two parts, the Lacedæmonians first broke and routed the Persians; and Mardonius himself was slain by a Spartan, named Arimnestus, who broke his skull with a stone, as the oracle of Amphiaraus had foretold him. For Mardonius had sent a Lydian to consult this oracle, and at the same time a Carian to the cave of Trophonius. The priest of Trophonius answered the Carian in his own language; but the Lydian, as he slept in the temple of Amphiaraus, thought he saw a minister of the god approach him, who commanded him to be gone, and, upon his refusal, threw a great stone at his head, so that he believed himself killed by the blow. Such is the account we have of that affair.

The barbarians, flying before the Spartans, were pursued to their camp, which they had fortified with wooden walls. And soon after the Athenians routed the Thebans, killing

three hundred persons of the first distinction on the spot. Just as the Thebans began to give way, news was brought that the barbarians were shut up and besieged in their wooden fortifications; the Athenians, therefore, suffering the Greeks to escape, hastened to assist in the siege; and finding that the Lacedæmonians, unskilled in the storming of walls, made but a slow progress, they attacked and took the camp, with a prodigious slaughter of the enemy. For it is said that out of three hundred thousand men, only forty thousand escaped with Artabazus, whereas of those that fought in the cause of Greece no more were slain than one thousand three hundred and sixty, among whom were fifty-two Athenians, all, according to Clidemus, of the tribe of Aiantis, which greatly distinguished itself in that action. And therefore, by order of the Delphic oracle, the Aiantidæ offered a yearly sacrifice of thanksgiving for the victory to the nymphs Sphragitides, having the expense defrayed out of the treasury. The Lacedæmonians lost ninety-one, and the Tegetæ sixteen. But it is surprising that Herodotus should say that these were the only Greeks that engaged the barbarians, and that no other were concerned in the action. For both the number of the slain and the monuments show that it was the common achievement of the confederates; and the altar erected on that occasion would not have had the following inscription, if only three states had engaged, and the rest had sat still:—

The Greeks their country freed, the Persians slain,
Have reared this altar on the glorious field,
To freedom's patron, Jove ———

This battle was fought on the fourth of Boëdromion (September) according to the Athenian way of reckoning; but, according to the Bæotian computation, on the

twenty-fourth of the month Panemus. And on that day there is still a general assembly of the Greeks at Plataea, and the Plataeans sacrifice to Jupiter the deliverer, for the victory. Nor is this difference of days in the Grecian months to be wondered at, since even now, when the science of astronomy is so much improved, the months begin and end differently at different places.

This victory went near to be the ruin of Greece ; for the Athenians, unwilling to allow the Spartans the honour of the day, or to consent that they should erect the trophy, would have referred it to the decision of the sword, had not Aristides taken great pains to explain the matter, and pacify the other generals, particularly Leocrates and Myronides ; and persuading them to leave it to the judgment of the Greeks. A council was called accordingly, in which Theogiton gave it as his opinion, "That those two states should give up the palm to a third, if they desired to prevent a civil war." Then Cleocritus the Corinthian rose up, and it was expected he would set forth the pretensions of Corinth to the prize of valour, as the city next in dignity to Sparta and Athens ; but they were most agreeably surprised when they found that he spoke in behalf of the Plataeans, and proposed, "That all disputes laid aside, the palm should be adjudged to them, since neither of the contending parties could be jealous of them." Aristides was the first to give up the point for the Athenians, and then Pausanias did the same for the Lacedæmonians.

The confederates thus reconciled, eighty talents were set apart for the Plataeans, for which they built a temple, and erected a statue to Minerva ; adorning the temple with paintings, which to this day retain their original beauty and lustre. Both the Lacedæmonians and

Athenians erected trophies separately : and sending to consult the oracle at Delphi about the sacrifice they were to offer, they were directed by Apollo. " To build an altar to Jupiter the deliverer, but not to offer any sacrifice upon it till they had extinguished all the fire in the country (because it had been polluted by the barbarians) and supplied themselves with pure fire from the common altar at Delphi. Hereupon the Grecian generals went all over the country, and caused the fires to be put out ; and Euchidas a Platean, undertaking to fetch fire, with all imaginable speed, from the altar of the god, went to Delphi, sprinkled and purified himself there with water, put a crown of laurel on his head, took fire from the altar, and then hastened back to Plataea, where he arrived before sunset, thus performing a journey of a thousand furlongs in one day. But having saluted his fellow-citizens, and delivered the fire, he fell down on the spot, and presently expired. The Plateans carried him to the temple of Diana, surnamed Eucleia, and buried him there, putting this short inscription on his tomb :

Here lies Euchidas, who went to Delphi, and returned the same day.

As for Eucleia, the generality believe her to be Diana, and call her by that name ; but some say, she was daughter to Hercules, and Myrto the daughter of Menœceus, and sister of Patroclus ; and that dying a virgin, she had divine honours paid her by the Bœotians and Leocrians. For in the market-place of every city of theirs she has a statue and an altar, where persons of both sexes that are betrothed offer sacrifice before marriage.

In the first general assembly of the Greeks after this victory, Aristides proposed a decree, " That deputies from

all the states of Greece should meet annually at Plataea, to sacrifice to Jupiter the deliverer, and that every fifth year they should celebrate the games of liberty; that a general levy should be made through Greece of ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and a hundred ships, for the war against the barbarians: and that the Plataeans should be exempt, being set apart for the service of the god, to propitiate him in behalf of Greece, and consequently their persons to be esteemed sacred."

These articles passing into a law, the Plataeans undertook to celebrate the anniversary of those that were slain and buried in that place, and they continue it to this day. The ceremony is as follows:—On the sixteenth day of Maimacterion (November), which with the Boeotians is the month Alalcomenius, the procession begins at break of day, preceded by a trumpet which sounds the signal of battle. Then follow several chariots, full of garlands and branches of myrtle, and next to the chariots is led a black bull. Then come some young men that are free-born, carrying vessels full of wine and milk, for the libations and cruets of oil and perfumed essences; no slave being allowed to have any share in this ceremony, sacred to the memory of men that died for liberty. The procession closes with the archon of Plataea, who, at other times, is not allowed either to touch iron, or to wear any garments but a white one; but that day he is clothed with a purple robe, and girt with a sword, and carrying in his hand a water-pot, taken out of the public hall, he walks through the midst of the city to the tombs. Then he takes water in the pot out of a fountain, and, with his own hands, washes the little pillars of the monuments, and rubs them with essences. After this he kills the bull upon a pile of

wood: and having made his supplications to the terrestrial Jupiter, and Mercury, he invites those brave men who fell in the cause of Greece to the funeral banquet, and the steams of blood. Last of all, he fills a bowl with wine, and pouring it out he says, "I present this bowl to the men who died for the liberty of Greece." Such is the ceremony still observed by the Plateans.

When the Athenians were returned home, Aristides observing that they used their utmost endeavours to make the government entirely democratical, considered, on the one side, that the people deserved some attention and respect, on account of their gallant behaviour; and, on the other, that being elated with their victories, it would be difficult to force them to depart from their purpose, and therefore he caused a decree to be made, that all the citizens should have a share in the administration, and that the archons should be chosen out of the whole body of them.

Themistocles having one day declared to the general assembly that he had thought of an expedient which was very salutary to Athens, but ought to be kept secret, he was ordered to communicate it to Aristides only, and to abide by his judgment of it. Accordingly he told him, his project was to burn the whole fleet of the confederates; by which means the Athenians would be raised to the sovereignty of all Greece. Aristides then returned to the assembly, and acquainted the Athenians, "That nothing could be more advantageous than the project of Themistocles, nor anything more unjust." And upon his report of the matter, they commanded Themistocles to give over all thoughts of it. Such regard had that people for justice, and so much confidence in the integrity of Aristides.

Some time after this he was joined in commission with Cimon, and sent against the barbarians; where, observing that Pausanias and the other Spartan generals behaved with excessive haughtiness, he chose a quite different manner, showing much mildness and condescension in his whole conversation and address, and prevailing with Cimon to behave with equal goodness and affability to the whole league. Thus he insensibly drew the chief command from the Lacedæmonians, not by force of arms, horses, or ships, but by his gentle and obliging deportment. For the justice of Aristides, and the candour of Cimon, having made the Athenians very agreeable to the confederates, their regard was increased by the contrast they found in Pausanias's avarice and severity of manners. For he never spoke to the officers of the allies, but with sharpness and anger, and he ordered many of their men to be flogged, or to stand all day with an iron anchor on their shoulders. He would not suffer any of them to provide themselves with forage, or straw to lie on, or to go to the springs for water, before the Spartans were supplied, but placed his servants there with rods, to drive away those that should attempt it. And when Aristides was going to remonstrate with him upon it, he knit his brows, and telling him, "He was not at leisure," refused to hear him.

From that time the sea-captains and land-officers of the Greeks, particularly those of Chios, Samos, and Lesbos, pressed Aristides to take upon him the command of the confederate forces, and to receive them into his protection, since they had long desired to be delivered from the Spartan yoke, and to act under the orders of the Athenians. He answered, "That he saw the necessity and justice of what they proposed, but that the proposal ought first to be confirmed by some act, which would

make it impossible for the troops to depart from their resolution." Hereupon Uliades of Samos, and Antagoras of Chios, conspiring together, went boldly and attacked Pausanias's galley at the head of the fleet. Pausanias, upon this insolence, cried out, in a menacing tone, "He would soon show those fellows, they had not offered this insult to his ship, but to their own countries." But they told him, "The best thing he could do was to retire, and thank fortune for fighting for him at Platea: for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action, restrained the Greeks from wreaking their just vengeance on him." The conclusion was, that they quitted the Spartan banners, and ranged themselves under those of the Athenians.

On this occasion, the magnanimity of the Spartan people appeared with great lustre. For as soon as they perceived their generals were spoiled with too much power, they sent no more, but voluntarily gave up their pretensions to the chief command: choosing rather to cultivate in their citizens a principle of modesty and tenaciousness of the laws and customs of their country, than to possess the sovereign command of Greece.

While the Lacedæmonians had the command, the Greeks paid a certain tax towards the war; and now being desirous that every city might be more equally rated, they begged the favour of the Athenians that Aristides might take it upon him, and gave him instructions to inspect their lands and revenues in order to proportion the burden of each to its ability.

Aristides, invested with this authority, which, in a manner, made him master of all Greece, did not abuse it. For though he went out poor, he returned poorer, having settled the quotas of the several states, not only justly and disinterestedly, but with so much tenderness and

humanity, that his assessment was agreeable and convenient to all. And as the ancients praised the times of Saturn, so the allies of Athens blessed the settlements of Aristides, calling it the happy fortune of Greece: a compliment which soon after appeared still more just, when this taxation was twice or three times as high. For that of Aristides amounted only to four hundred and sixty talents; and Pericles increased it almost one third: for Thucydides writes, that at the beginning of the war, the Athenians received from their allies six hundred talents; and after the death of Pericles, those that had the administration in their hands raised it by little and little to the sum of thirteen hundred talents. Not that the war grew more expensive, either by its length or want of success, but because they had accustomed the people to receive distributions of money for the public spectacles and other purposes, and had made them fond of erecting magnificent statues and temples.

The great and illustrious character which Aristides acquired by the equity of this taxation, piqued Themistocles; and he endeavoured to turn the praise bestowed upon him into ridicule, by saying, "It was not the praise of a man, but of a money chest, to keep treasure without diminution." By this he took but a feeble revenge for the freedom of Aristides; for one day Themistocles happening to say, "that he looked upon it as the principal excellence of a general to know and foresee the designs of the enemy," Aristides answered, "That is indeed a necessary qualification; but there is another very excellent one, and highly becoming a general, and that is, to have clean hands."

When Aristides had settled the articles of alliance, he called upon the confederates to confirm them with an oath; which he himself took on the part of the

Athenians: and, at the same time that he uttered the execration on those who should break the articles, he threw red-hot pieces of iron into the sea. However, when the urgency of affairs afterwards required the Athenians to govern Greece with a stricter hand than those conditions justified, he advised them to let the consequences of the perjury rest with him, and pursue the path which expediency pointed out. Upon the whole, Theophrastus says, that in all his private concerns, and in those of his fellow-citizens, he was inflexibly just, but in affairs of state, he did many things according to the exigency of the case, to serve his country, which seemed often to have need of the assistance of injustice. And he relates that when it was debated in council, whether the treasure deposited at Delos should be brought to Athens, as the Samians had advised, though contrary to treaties, on its coming to his turn to speak, he said, "It was not just, but it was expedient."

This must be said, notwithstanding, that though he extended the dominions of Athens over so many people, he himself still continued poor, and esteemed his poverty no less a glory than all the laurels he had won. The following is a clear proof of it. Callias the torch-bearer, who was his near relation, was prosecuted in a capital cause by his enemies. When they had alleged what they had against him, which was nothing very flagrant, they launched out into something foreign to their own charge and thus addressed the judges: "You know Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who is justly the admiration of all Greece. When you see with what a garb he appears in public, in what manner do you think he must live at home? Must not he who shivers here with cold for want of clothing, be almost famished there, and destitute of all necessaries: yet this is the man, whom Callias, his

cousin-german, and the richest man in Athens, absolutely neglects, and leaves, with his wife and children, in such wretchedness ; though he has often made use of him, and availed himself of his interest with you." Callias perceiving that this point affected and exasperated his judges more than anything else, called for Aristides to testify before the court, that he had many times offered him considerable sums, and strongly pressed him to accept them, but he had always refused them, in such terms as these : " It better becomes Aristides to glory in his poverty, than Callias in his riches, for we see every day many people make a good as well as a bad use of riches, but it is hard to find one that bears poverty with a noble spirit, and they only are ashamed of it, who are poor against their will." When Aristides had given in his evidence, there was not a man in the court, who did not leave it with an inclination rather to be poor with him, than rich with Callias. This particular we have from Æschines, the disciple of Socrates. And Plato, among all that were accounted great and illustrious men in Athens, judged none but Aristides worthy of real esteem. As for Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, they filled the city with magnificent buildings, with wealth, and the vain superfluities of life ; but virtue was the only object that Aristides had in view in the whole course of his administration.

We have extraordinary instances of the candour with which he behaved towards Themistocles. For though he was his constant enemy in all affairs of government, and the means of his banishment, yet when Themistocles was accused of capital crimes against the state and he had an opportunity to pay him in kind, he indulged not the least revenge ; but while Alcmaeon, Cimon, and many others, were accusing him and driving him into exile, Aristides

alone, neither did nor said anything to his disadvantage ; for, as he had not envied his prosperity, so now he did not rejoice in his misfortunes.

As to the death of Aristides, some say it happened in Pontus, whither he had sailed about some business of the state ; others say he died at Athens, full of days, honoured and admired by his fellow-citizens ; but Craterus the Macedonian gives us another account of the death of this great man. He tells us, that after the banishment of Themistocles, the insolence of the people gave encouragement to a number of villainous informers, who attacking the greatest and best men, rendered them obnoxious to the populace, now much elated with prosperity and power. Aristides himself was not spared, but on a charge brought against him by Diophantus of Amphitrope, was condemned for taking a bribe of the Ionians, at the time he levied the tax. He adds, that being unable to pay his fine, which was fifty minæ, he sailed to some part of Ionia, and there died. But Craterus gives us no written proof of this assertion, nor does he allege any register of court or decree of the people, though on other occasions he is full of such proofs, and constantly cites his author. The other historians, without exception, who have given us accounts of the unjust behaviour of the people of Athens to their generals, among many other instances dwell upon the banishment of Themistocles, the imprisonment of Miltiades, the fine imposed upon Pericles, and the death of Paches, who, upon receiving sentence, killed himself in the judgment-hall, at the foot of the tribunal. Nor do they forget the banishment of Aristides, but they say not one word of his condemnation.

Besides, his monument is still to be seen at Phalerum,, and is said to have been erected at the public charge, be-

cause he did not leave enough to defray the expenses of his funeral. They inform us too, that the city provided for the marriage of his daughters, and that each of them had three thousand drachmæ to her portion out of the treasury : and to his son Lysimachus the people of Athens gave a hundred minæ of silver, and a plantation of as many acres of land, with a pension of four drachmæ a day ; the whole being confirmed to him by a decree drawn up by Alcibiades. Callisthenes adds, that Lysimachus at his death leaving a daughter named Polycrite, the people ordered her the same subsistence with those that had conquered at the Olympic games. Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus of Rhodes, Aristoxenus the musician, and Aristotle himself, if the treatise concerning nobility is to be reckoned among his genuine works, relate, that Myrto, a grand-daughter of Aristides, was married to Socrates the philosopher, who had another wife at the same time, but took her, because she was in extreme want, and remained a widow on account of her poverty. But this is sufficiently confuted by Panætius, in his life of that philosopher.

The same Demetrius, in his account of Socrates, tells us, he remembered one Lysimachus, grandson to Aristides, who plied constantly near the temple of Bacchus, having certain tables by which he interpreted dreams for a livelihood : and that he himself procured a decree, by which his mother and aunt had three oboli a day each allowed for their subsistence. He further acquaints us, that when afterwards he undertook to reform the Athenian laws, he ordered each of those women a drachma a day. Nor is it to be wondered, that this people took so much care of those that lived with them in Athens, when having heard that a grand-daughter of Aristogiton lived in mean circumstances in Lemnos, and continued

unmarried by reason of her poverty, they sent for her to Athens, and married her to a man of considerable family, giving her for a portion an estate in the borough of Potamos. That city, even in our days, continues to give so many proofs of her benevolence and humanity, that she is deservedly admired and applauded by all the world.

CATO THE CENSOR.

It is said that Marcus Cato was born at Tusculum, of which place his family originally was, and that before he was concerned in civil or military affairs, he lived upon an estate which his father left him near the country of the Sabines. Though his ancestors were reckoned to have been persons of no note, yet Cato himself boasts of his father as a brave man and an excellent soldier, and assures us, that his grandfather Cato received several military rewards, and that having had five horses killed under him, he had the value of them paid him out of the treasury, as an acknowledgment of his gallant behaviour. As the Romans always gave the appellation of *new men*. to those who, having no honours transmitted to them from their ancestors, began to distinguish themselves, they mentioned Cato by the same style ; but he used to say, he was indeed *new* with respect to offices and dignities, but with regard to the services and virtues of his ancestors, he was very ancient.

His third name, at first, was not Cato, but Priscus. It was afterwards changed to that of Cato, on account of his great wisdom ; for the Romans call wise men *Catos*. He had red hair and grey eyes, as this epigram ill-naturedly enough declares :—

With eyes so grey and hair so red,
With tusks so sharp and keen,
Thou'lt fright the shades when thou art dead
And hell won't let thee in.

Inured to labour and temperance, and brought up, as it were, in camps, he had an excellent constitution with respect to strength as well as health. And he considered eloquence as a valuable contingent, an instrument of great things, not only useful but necessary for every man who does not choose to live obscure and inactive; for which reason he exercised and improved that talent in the neighbouring boroughs and villages, by undertaking the causes of such as applied to him: so that he was soon allowed to be an able pleader, and afterwards a good orator.

From this time, all that conversed with him, discovered in him such a gravity of behaviour, such a dignity and depth of sentiment, as qualified him for the greatest affairs in the most respectable government in the world. For he was not only so disinterested as to plead without fee or reward, but it appeared that the honour to be gained in that department was not his principal view. His ambition was military glory; and when yet but a youth, he had fought in so many battles that his breast was full of scars. He himself tells us, he made his first campaign at seventeen years of age, when Hannibal in the height of his prosperity was laying Italy waste with fire and sword. In battle he stood firm, had a sure and executing hand, a fierce countenance, and spoke to his enemy in a threatening and dreadful accent: for he rightly judged, and endeavoured to convince others, that such a kind of behaviour often strikes an adversary with greater terror than the sword itself. He always marched on foot, and carried his own arms, followed only by one servant, who carried his provisions. And it is said, he never was angry or found fault with that servant, whatever he set before him: but when he was at leisure from military duty, would ease and assist him in dressing

it. All the time he was in the army, he drank nothing but water, except that when almost burned up with thirst he would ask for a little vinegar, or when he found his strength and spirits exhausted he would take a little wine.

Near his country seat was a cottage, which formerly belonged to Manius Curius, who was twice honoured with a triumph. Cato often walked thither, and reflecting on the smallness of the farm and the meanness of the dwelling, used to think of the peculiar virtues of Dentatus, who, though he was the greatest man in Rome, had subdued the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, cultivated this little spot of ground with his own hands, and after three triumphs lived in this cottage. Here the ambassadors of the Samnites found him in the chimney-corner dressing turnips, and offered him a large present of gold; but he absolutely refused it, and gave them this answer: "A man who can be satisfied with such a supper has no need of gold; and I think it more glorious to conquer the owners of it, than to have it myself." Full of these thoughts, Cato returned home, and taking a view of his own estate, his servants and manner of living, added to his own labour, and retrenched his unnecessary expenses.

When Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum, Cato, who was then very young, served under him. Happening at that time to lodge with a Pythagorean philosopher named Nearchus, he desired to hear some of his doctrine; and learning from him the same maxims which Plato advances, That pleasure is the greatest incentive to evil; that the greatest burden and calamity to the soul is the body, from which she cannot disengage herself, but by such a wise use of reason as shall wean and separate her from all corporeal passions; he became

still more attached to frugality and temperance. It is said that he learned Greek very late, and was considerably advanced in years when he began to read the Grecian writers, among whom he improved his eloquence, somewhat by Thucydides, but by Demosthenes very greatly ; indeed his own writings are sufficiently adorned with precepts and examples borrowed from the Greek, and among his maxims and sentences we find many that are literally translated from the same originals.

At that time there flourished a Roman nobleman of great power and eminence called Valerius Flaccus, whose penetration enabled him to distinguish a rising genius and virtuous disposition, and whose benevolence inclined him to encourage and conduct it in the path of glory. This nobleman had an estate contiguous to Cato's, where he often heard his servants speak of his neighbour's laborious and temperate manner of life. They told him that he used to go early in the morning to the little towns in the neighbourhood, and defend the causes of such as applied to him ; that from thence he would return to his farm, where, in a coarse frock if it was winter, and naked if it was summer, he would labour with his domestics, and afterwards sit down with them and eat the same kind of bread, and drink of the same wine. They related also many other instances of his condescension and moderation, and mentioned several of his short sayings that were full of wit and good sense. Valerius, charmed with his character, sent him an invitation to dinner. From that time, by frequent conversation, he found in him so much sweetness of temper and ready wit that he considered him an excellent plant, which wanted only cultivation, and deserved to be removed to a better soil. He, therefore, persuaded him to go to Rome, and apply himself to affairs of state.

There his pleadings soon procured him friends and admirers ; the interest of Valerius, too, greatly assisted his rise to preferment ; so that he first was made a tribune of the soldiers, and afterwards quæstor. And having gained great reputation and honour in those employments, he was joined with Valerius himself in the highest dignities, being his colleague both as consul and as censor.

Among all the ancient senators, he attached himself chiefly to Fabius Maximus, not so much on account of the great power and honour he had acquired, as for the sake of his life and manners, which Cato considered as the best model to form himself upon. So that he made no scruple of differing with the great Scipio, who, though at that time but a young man, yet actuated by a spirit of emulation, was the person who most opposed the power of Fabius. For being sent quæstor with Scipio to the war in Africa, and perceiving that he indulged himself, as usual, in an unbounded expense, and lavished the public money upon the troops, he took the liberty to remonstrate ; observing, "That the expense itself was not the greatest evil ; but the consequence of that expense, since it corrupted the ancient simplicity of the soldiery, who when they had more money than was necessary for their subsistence, were sure to bestow it upon luxury and riot." Scipio answered, "he had no need of a very exact and frugal treasurer, because he intended to spread all his sails in the ocean of war, and because his country expected from him an account of services performed, not of money expended." Upon this Cato left Sicily, and returned to Rome, where, together with Fabius, he loudly complained to the senate of "Scipio's immense profusion, and of his passing his time, like a boy, in wrestling-rings and theatres, as if he had

not been sent out to make war, but to exhibit games and shows." In consequence of this, tribunes were sent to examine into the affair, with orders, if the accusation proved true, to bring Scipio back to Rome. Scipio represented to them, "That success depended entirely upon the greatness of the preparations," and made them sensible, "That though he spent his hours of leisure in a cheerful manner with his friends, his liberal way of living had not caused him to neglect any great or important business." With this defence the commissioners were satisfied, and he set sail for Africa.

As for Cato, he continued to gain so much influence and authority by his eloquence, that he was commonly called the Roman Demosthenes ; but he was still more celebrated for his manner of living. His excellence as a speaker awakened a general emulation among the youth to distinguish themselves the same way, and to surpass each other : but few were willing to imitate him in the ancient custom of tilling the field with their own hands, in eating a dinner prepared without fire, and a spare frugal supper : few, like him, could be satisfied with a plain dress and a poor cottage, or think it more honourable not to want the superfluities of life, than to possess them. For the commonwealth now no longer retained its primitive purity and integrity, by reason of the vast extent of its dominions ; the many different affairs under its management, and the infinite number of people that were subject to its command, had introduced a great variety of customs and modes of living. Justly, therefore, was Cato entitled to admiration, when the other citizens were frightened at labour, and enervated by pleasure, and he alone was unconquered by either, not only while young and ambitious, but when old and grey-haired, after his consulship and triumph ; like a brave

wrestler, who after he has come off conqueror, observes the common rules, and continues his exercises to the last.

He himself tells us that he never wore a garment that cost him more than a hundred drachmas ; that even when prætor or consul he drank the same wine with his slaves ; that a dinner never cost him from the market above thirty ascs ; and that he was thus frugal for the sake of his country, that he might be able to endure the harder service in war. He adds, that having got among some goods he was heir to, a piece of Babylonian tapestry, he sold it immediately ; that the walls of his country houses were neither plastered nor white-washed ; that he never gave more for a slave than fifteen hundred drachmas, as not requiring in his servants delicate shapes and fine faces, but strength and ability to labour, that they might be fit to be employed in his stables, about his cattle or such like business ; and these he thought proper to sell again when they grew old, that he might have no useless persons to maintain. In a word he thought nothing cheap that was superfluous ; that what a man has no need of is dear even at a penny ; and that it is much better to have fields where the plough goes or cattle feed, than fine gardens and walks that require much watering and sweeping.

Some imputed these things to a narrowness of spirit, while others supposed that he betook himself to this contracted manner of living, in order to correct by his example the growing luxury of the age. For my part, I cannot but charge his using his servants like so many beasts of burden, and turning them off, or selling them when grown old, to the account of a mean and ungenerous spirit, which thinks that the sole tie between man and man is interest or necessity. But goodness moves in a larger sphere than justice ; the obligations of law and equity

reach only to mankind, but kindness and beneficence should be extended to creatures of every species ; and these still flow from the breast of a well-natured man, as streams that issue from the living fountain. A good man will take care of his horses and dogs, not only while they are young, but when old and past service. Thus the people of Athens, when they had finished the temple called Hecatompedon, set at liberty the beasts of burden that had been chiefly employed in that work, suffering them to pasture at large, free from any further service. It is said that one of these afterwards came of its own accord to work, and putting itself at the head of the labouring cattle, marched before them to the citadel. This pleased the people, and they made a decree that it should be kept at the public charge as long as it lived. The graves of Cimon's mares, with which he thrice conquered at the olympic games, are still to be seen near his own tomb. Many have shown particular marks of regard in burying the dogs which they had cherished and been fond of ; and, among the rest, Xanthippus, of old, whose dog swam by the side of his galley to Salamis, when the Athenians were forced to abandon their city, was afterwards buried by his master upon a promontory, which to this day is called the "dog's grave." We certainly ought not to treat living creatures like shoes or household goods, which, when worn-out with use, we throw away, and were it only to learn benevolence to humankind, we should be merciful to other creatures. For my own part, I would not sell even an old ox that had laboured for me ; much less would I remove for the sake of a little money a man grown old in my service, from his usual place and diet ; for to him, poor man ! it would be as bad as banishment, since he could be of no more use to the buyer than he was to the seller. But Cato, as if he took a pride in these

things, tells us, that, when consul, he left his war-horse in Spain, to save the public the charge of his freight. Whether such things as these are instances of greatness or littleness of soul, let the reader judge for himself.

He was, however, a man of wonderful temperance. For, when general of the army, he took no more from the public, for himself and those about him, than three Attic medimni of wheat a month ; and less than a medimnus and a half of barley for his horses. And when he was governor of Sardinia, though his predecessors had put the province to a very great expense for pavilions, bedding and apparel, and still more by the number of friends and servants they had about them, and by the great and sumptuous entertainments they gave, he, on the contrary, was as remarkable for his frugality. Indeed, he put the public to no manner of charge. Instead of making use of a carriage, he walked from one town to another, attended only by one officer, who carried his robe and a vessel for libations. But if in these things he appeared plain and easy to those that were under his command, he preserved a gravity and severity in everything else. For he was inexorable in whatever related to public justice, and inflexibly rigid in the execution of his orders ; so that the Roman government had never before appeared to that people either so awful or so amiable.

This contrast was found, not only in his manners, but in his style, which was elegant, facetious, and familiar, and at the same time grave, nervous, and sententious. Thus Plato tell us, "the outside of Socrates was that of a satyr and buffoon, but his soul was all virtue, and from within him came such divine and pathetic things as pierced the heart, and drew tears from the hearers." And as the same may justly be affirmed of Cato, I cannot comprehend their meaning, who compare his language to that

of Lysias. I leave this, however, to be decided by those who are more capable than myself of judging of the several sorts of style used among the Romans ; and being persuaded that a man's disposition may be discovered much better by his speech than by his looks (though some are of a different opinion), I shall set down some of Cato's remarkable sayings.

One day when the Romans clamoured violently and unseasonably for a distribution of corn, to dissuade them from it, he thus began his address : " It is a difficult task, my fellow-citizens, to speak to the belly, because it hath no ears." Another time, complaining of the luxury of the Romans, he said, " It was a hard matter to save that city from ruin, where a fish was sold for more than an ox." On another occasion, he said, " the Roman people were like sheep, for as those can scarce be brought to stir singly, but all in a body readily follow their leaders, just such are ye ; the men whose counsel you would not take as individuals, lead you with ease in a crowd." Speaking of the power of women, he said, " All men naturally govern the women, we govern all men, and our wives govern us." But this might be taken from the Apophthegms of Themistocles. For, his son directing in most things through his mother, he said, " The Athenians govern the Greeks, I govern the Athenians, you, wife, govern me, and your son governs you : let him then use that power with moderation, which, child as he is, sets him above all the Greeks." Another of Cato's sayings was, " That the Roman people fixed the value, not only of the several kinds of colours, but of the arts and sciences. For," added he, " as the dyers dye that sort of purple which is most agreeable to you, so our youth only study and strive to excel in such things as you esteem and commend." Exhorting the people to virtue, he said, " If it is by virtue

and temperance that you are become great, change not for the worse ; but if by intemperance and vice, change for the better ; for you are already great enough by such means as these." Of such as were perpetually soliciting for great offices, he said, "Like men who knew not their way, they wanted lictors always to conduct them." He found fault with the people for often choosing the same persons consuls. "You either," said he, "think the consulate of little worth, or that there are but few worthy of the consulate." Concerning one of his enemies who led a very profligate and infamous life, he said, "His mother takes it for a curse and not a prayer, when any one wishes this son may survive her." Pointing to a man who had sold a paternal estate near the sea-side, he pretended to admire him, as one that was stronger than the sea itself ; "For," said he, "what the sea could not have swallowed without difficulty, this man has taken down with all the ease imaginable." When King Eumenes came to Rome, the senate received him with extraordinary respect, and the great men strove which should do him the most honour, but Cato visibly neglected and shunned him. Upon which somebody said, "Why do you shun Eumenes, who is so good a man, and so great a friend to the Romans ?" "That may be," answered Cato, "but I look upon a king as a creature that feeds upon human flesh ; and of all the kings that have been so much cried up, I find not one to be compared with an Epaminondas, a Pericles, a Themistocles, a Manius Curius, or with Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas." He used to say that his enemies hated him, because he neglected his own concerns, and rose before day to mind those of the public. But that he had rather his good actions should go unrewarded, than his bad ones unpunished ; and that he pardoned everybody's faults sooner than his own. The Romans having sent

three ambassadors to the king of Bythinia, of whom one had the gout, another had his skull trepanned, and the third was reckoned little better than a fool, Cato smiled, and said, "They had sent an embassy which had neither feet, head, nor heart." When Scipio applied to him, at the request of Polybius, in behalf of the Achæan exiles, and the matter was much canvassed in the senate, some speaking for their being restored, and some against it, Cato rose up and said, "As if we had nothing else to do, we sit here all day debating whether a few poor old Greeks shall be buried by our grave-diggers or those of their own country." The senate then decreed, that the exiles should return home, and Polybius, some days after, endeavoured to procure another meeting of that respectable body, to restore those exiles to their former honours in Achaia. Upon this affair he sounded Cato, who answered, smiling, "This was just as if Ulysses should have wanted to enter the Cyclops' cave again for a hat and a belt which he had left behind." It was a saying of his, "That wise men learn more from fools, than fools from the wise; for the wise avoid the errors of fools, while fools do not profit by the examples of the wise." Another of his sayings was, "That he liked a young man that blushed, more than one that turned pale; and that he did not like a soldier who moved his hands in marching, and his feet in fighting, and who snored louder in bed than he shouted in battle." Jesting upon a very fat man, he said, "Of what service to his country can such a body be which is nothing but belly?" When an epicure desired to be admitted into his friendship, he said, "He could not live with a man whose palate had quicker sensations than his heart." He used to say, "The soul of a lover lived in the body of another; and that in all his life he never repented but of three things; the

first was, that he had trusted a woman with a secret ; the second, that he had gone by sea, when he might have gone by land ; and the third that he had passed one day without having a will by him." To an old debauchee, he said, "Old age has deformities enough of its own ; do not add to it the deformity of vice." A tribune of the people, who had the character of a poisoner, proposing a bad law, and taking great pains to have it passed, Cato said to him, "Young man, I know not which is most dangerous, to drink what you mix, or to enact what you propose." Being scurrilously treated by a man who led a dissolute and infamous life, he said, "It is upon very unequal terms that I contend with you ; for you are accustomed to be spoken ill of, and can speak it with pleasure ; but with me it is unusual to hear it, and disagreeable to speak it." Such was the manner of his repartees and short sayings.

Being appointed consul along with his friend Valerius Flaccus, the government of that part of Spain which the Romans call *ceterior*, hither, fell to his lot. While he was subduing some of the nations there by arms, and winning others by kindness, a great army of barbarians fell upon him, and he was in danger of being driven out in dishonour. On this occasion he sent to desire succours of his neighbours the Celtiberians, who demanded two hundred talents for that service. All the officers of his army thought it intolerable, that the Romans should be obliged to purchase assistance of the barbarians : but Cato said, "It is no such great hardship ; for if we conquer, we shall pay them at the enemy's expense ; and if we are conquered, there will be nobody either to pay or make the demand." He gained the battle, and everything afterwards succeeded to his wish. Polybius tells us, that the walls of all the Spanish towns on this side the river Bætis were razed by his command in one day, notwithstanding the towns were

numerous, and their inhabitants brave ; Cato himself says, he took more cities than he spent days in Spain : nor is it a vain boast ; for they were actually no fewer than four hundred. Though this campaign afforded the soldiers great booty, he gave each of them a pound weight of silver besides, saying, " It was better that many of the Romans should return with silver in their pockets, than a few with gold." And for his own part, he assures us, that of all that was taken in the war, nothing came to his share but what he ate and drank. " Not that I blame," says he, " those that seek their own advantage in these things ; but I had rather contend for valour with the brave, than for wealth with the rich ; or in rapaciousness with the covetous." And he not only kept himself clear of extortion, but all that were immediately under his direction. He had five servants with him in this expedition, one of whom, named Paccus, had purchased three boys that were among the prisoners : but when he knew that his master was informed of it, unable to bear the thoughts of coming into his presence, he hanged himself. Upon which Cato sold the boys, and put the money into the public treasury.

While he was settling the affairs of Spain, Scipio the Great, who was his enemy, and wanted to break the course of his success, and have the finishing of the war himself, managed matters so as to get himself appointed his successor. After which he made all possible haste to take the command of the army from him. But Cato hearing of his march, took five companies of foot and five hundred horse, as a convoy to attend upon Scipio, and as he went to meet him, defeated the Lacetanians, and took among them six hundred Roman deserters, whom he caused to be put to death. And upon Scipio's expressing his displeasure at this, he answered, ironically, " Rome

would be great indeed, if men of birth would not yield the palm of virtue to the commonalty, and if plebeians, like himself, would contend for excellence with men of birth and quality." Besides, as the senate had decreed, that nothing should be altered which Cato had ordered and established, the post which Scipio had made so much interest for, rather tarnished his own glory than that of Cato; for he continued inactive during that government.

In the meantime, Cato was honoured with a triumph. But he did not act afterwards like those whose ambition is only for fame, and not for virtue, and who having reached the highest honours, borne the office of consul and led up triumphs, withdraw from public business, and give up the rest of their days to ease and pleasure. On the contrary, like those who are just entered upon business, and thirst for honour and renown, he exerted himself as if he was beginning his race anew, his services being always ready both for his friends in particular, and for the citizens in general, either at the bar or in the field. For he went with the consul Tiberius Sempronius to Thrace and the Danube, as his lieutenant. And, as a legionary tribune, he attended Manius Acilius Glabrio into Greece, in the war against Antiochus the Great; who next to Hannibal, was the most formidable enemy the Romans ever had; for having recovered almost all the provinces of Asia which Selucus Nicanor had possessed, and reduced many warlike nations of barbarians, he was so much elated as to think the Romans the only match for him in the field. Accordingly, he crossed the sea with a powerful army, colouring his design with the specious pretence of restoring liberty to the Greeks, of which, however, they stood in no need; for, being lately delivered by the favour of the Romans from the yoke of Philip

and the Macedonians, they were free already, and were governed by their own laws.

At his approach, all Greece was in great commotion, and unresolved how to act ; being corrupted with the splendid hopes infused by the orators whom Antiochus had gained. Acilius, therefore, sent ambassadors to the several states ; Titus Flaminius appeased the disturbances, and kept most of the Greeks in the Roman interest, without using any violent means, as I have related in his life ; and Cato confirmed the people of Corinth, as well as those of Patræ and Ægium in their duty. He also made a considerable stay at Athens : and, it is said, there is still extant a speech of his, which he delivered to the Athenians in Greek, expressing his admiration of the virtue of their ancestors, and his satisfaction in beholding the beauty and grandeur of their city. But this account is not true, for he spoke to them by an interpreter. Not that he was ignorant of Greek ; but chose to adhere to the customs of his country, and laugh at those who admired nothing but what was Greek. He, therefore, ridiculed Posthumius Albanus, who had written a history in that language, and made an apology for the improprieties of expression, saying, “ He ought to be pardoned, if he wrote it by the command of the Amphictyons.” We are assured that the Athenians admired the strength and conciseness of his language ; for what he delivered in a few words, the interpreter was obliged to make use of many to explain ; insomuch that he left them in the opinion, that the expressions of the Greeks flowed only from the lips, while those of the Romans came from the heart.

Antiochus having blocked up the narrow pass of Thermopylæ with his troops, and added walls and entrenchments to the natural fortifications of the place, sat down there unconcerned, thinking the war could not touch

him. And, indeed, the Romans despaired of forcing the pass. But Cato recollecting the circuit the Persians had taken on a like occasion, set out in the night with a proper detachment.

When they had advanced a considerable height, the guide, who was one of the prisoners, missed his way, and wandering about, among impracticable places and precipices, threw the soldiers into inexpressible dread and despair. Cato seeing the danger, ordered his forces to halt, while he, with one Lucius Manlius, who was dexterous in climbing the steep mountains, went forward with great difficulty and at the hazard of his life, at midnight, without any moon ; scrambling among wild olive trees and steep rocks that still more impeded his view, and added darkness to the obscurity. At last they hit upon a path which seemed to lead down to the enemy's camp. There they set up marks upon some of the most conspicuous rocks on the top of the mountain Callidromus ; and returning the same way, took the whole party with them ; whom they conducted by the direction of the marks, and so regained the little path : where they made a proper disposition of the troops. They had marched but a little further, when the path failed them, and they saw nothing before them but a precipice, which distressed them still more : for they could not yet perceive that they were near the enemy.

The day now began to appear, when one of them thought he heard the sound of human voices, and a little after they saw the Grecian camp, and the advanced guard at the foot of the rock. Cato therefore made a halt, and sent to acquaint the Firmians that he wanted to speak with them in private. These were troops whose fidelity and courage he had experienced on the most dangerous occasions. They hastened into his presence, when he thus

addressed them : " I want to take one of the enemy alive, to learn of him who they are that compose this advanced guard, and how many in number, and to be informed what is the disposition and order of their whole army, and what preparations they have made to receive us ; but the business requires the speed and impetuosity of lions, who rush into a herd of timorous beasts."

When Cato had done speaking, the Firmians, without further preparation, poured down the mountain, surprised the advanced guard, dispersed them, took one armed man, and brought him to Cato. The prisoner informed him, that the main body of the army was encamped with the king in the narrow pass, and that the detachment which guarded the heights consisted of six hundred select *Ætolians*. Cato despising these troops, as well on account of their small number as their negligence, drew his sword, and rushed upon them with all the alarm of voices and trumpets. The *Ætolians* no sooner saw him descend from the mountains, than they fled to the main body, and put the whole in the utmost confusion.

At the same time Manius forced the entrenchments of Antiochus below, and poured into the pass with his army, Antiochus himself being wounded in the mouth with a stone, and having some of his teeth struck out, the anguish obliged him to turn his horse and retire. After his retreat, no part of his army could withstand the shock of the Romans ; and though there appeared no hopes of escaping by flight, by reason of the straitness of the road, the deep marshes on one side and rocky precipices on the other, yet they crowded along through those narrow passages, and pushing each other down, perished miserably, out of fear of being destroyed by the Romans.

Cato, who was never sparing in his own praises, and

thought boasting a natural attendant on great actions, is very pompous in his account of this exploit. He says, "That those who saw him charging the enemy, routing and pursuing them, declared that Cato owed less to the people of Rome, than the people of Rome owed to Cato : and that the consul Manius, himself coming hot from the fight, took him in his arms, as he too came panting from the action, and embracing him a long time, cried out in a transport of joy, that neither he nor the whole Roman people could sufficiently reward Cato's merit."

Immediately after the battle, the consul sent him with an account of it to Rome, that he might be the first to carry the news of his own achievements. With a favourable wind he sailed to Brundisium ; from thence he reached Tarentum in one day : and having travelled four days more, he arrived at Rome the fifth day after he landed, and was the first that brought the news of the victory. His arrival filled the city with sacrifices and other testimonies of joy, and gave the people so high an opinion of themselves, that they now believed there could be no bounds to their empire or their power.

These are the most remarkable of Cato's actions ; and with respect to civil affairs, he appears to have thought the impeaching of offenders, and bringing them to justice, a thing that well deserved his attention. For he prosecuted several, and encouraged and assisted others in carrying on their prosecutions. Thus he set up Petilius against Scipio the Great : but secure in the dignity of his family and his own greatness of mind, Scipio treated the accusation with the utmost contempt. Cato perceiving he would not be capitally condemned, dropped the prosecution ; but, with some others who assisted him in the cause, impeached his brother Lucius Scipio, who was sentenced to pay a fine which his circumstances could not

answer, so that he was in danger of imprisonment : and it was not without great difficulty and appealing to the tribunes, that he was dismissed.

We have also an account of a young man who had procured a verdict against an enemy of his father who was lately dead, and had him stigmatised. Cato met him as he was passing through the forum, and taking him by the hand, addressed him in these words : " It is thus we are to sacrifice to the manes of our parents, not with the blood of goats and lambs, but with the tears and condemnation of their enemies."

Cato, however, did not escape these attacks : but when in the business of the state he gave the least handle, was certainly prosecuted, and sometimes in danger of being condemned. For it is said that near fifty impeachments were brought against him, and the last, when he was eighty-six years of age : on which occasion he made use of that memorable expression, " It is hard that I, who have lived with men of one generation, should be obliged to make my defence to those of another." Nor was this the end of his contests at the bar ; for, four years after, at the age of ninety, he impeached Servilius Galba. So that, like Nestor, he lived three generations, and like him, was always in action. In short, after having constantly opposed Scipio in matters of government, he lived until the time of young Scipio, his adopted grandson, and son of Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perseus and the Macedonians.

Ten years after his consulship, Cato stood for the office of censor, which was the highest dignity in the republic. For, besides the other power and authority that attended this office, it gave the magistrate a right of inquiry into the lives and manners of the citizens. The Romans did not think it proper that any one should be left to follow

his own inclinations without inspection or control, either in marriage, in the procreation of children, in his table, or in the company he kept. But, convinced that in these private scenes of life, a man's real character was much more distinguishable than in his public and political transactions, they appointed two magistrates, the one out of the patricians, and the other out of the plebeians, to inspect, to correct, and to chastise such as they found giving in to dissipation and licentiousness, and deserting the ancient and established manner of living. These great officers they called censors: and they had power to deprive a Roman knight of his horse, or to expel a senator that led a vicious and disorderly life. They likewise took an estimate of each citizen's estate, and enrolled them according to their pedigree, quality, and condition.

This office has several other great prerogatives annexed to it; and, therefore, when Cato solicited it, the principal senators opposed him. The motive of this opposition with some of the patricians was envy; for they imagined that it would be a disgrace to the nobility, if persons of a mean and obscure origin were elevated to the highest honour in the state. With others it was fear; for conscious that their lives were vicious, and that they had departed from the ancient simplicity of manners, they dreaded the austerity of Cato, because they believed he would be stern and inexorable in his office. Having consulted and prepared their measures, they put up seven candidates in opposition to Cato; and imagining that the people wanted to be governed with an easy hand, they soothed them with hopes of a mild censorship. Cato, on the contrary, without condescending to the least flattery or complaisance, in his speeches from the rostrum, professed his resolution to punish every instance of vice, and

loudly declaring that the city wanted great reformation, conjured the people, if they were wise to choose, not the mildest, but the severest physician. He told them that he was one of that character, and, among the patricians, Valerius Flaccus was another; and that with him for his colleague, and him only, he could hope to render good service to the commonwealth, by effectually cutting off, like another hydra, the spreading luxury and effeminacy of the times. He added, that he saw others pressing into the censorship, in order to exercise that office in a bad manner, because they were afraid of such as would discharge it faithfully.

The Roman people, on this occasion, showed themselves truly great, and worthy of the best of leaders, for, far from dreading the severity of this inflexible man, they rejected those smoother candidates that seemed ready to consult their pleasure in everything, and chose Valerius Flaccus with Cato; attending to the latter not as a man that solicited the office of censor, but as one who, already possessed of it, gave out his orders by virtue of his authority.

The first thing Cato did, was to name his friend and colleague, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, chief of the senate, and to expel many others the house, particularly Lucius Quintius, who had been consul seven years before, and, what was still a greater honour, was brother to Titus Flaminius, who overthrew king Philip.

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He expelled also Manilius, another senator, whom the general opinion had marked out for consul, because he had given his wife a kiss in the day-time in the sight of his daughter. "For his own part," he said, "his wife never embraced him but when it thundered dreadfully."

adding, by way of joke, "that he was happy when Jupiter pleased to thunder."

He was censured as having merely indulged his envy, when he degraded Lucius, who was brother to Scipio the Great, and had been honoured with a triumph; for he took from him his horse; and it was believed he did it to insult the memory of Scipio Africanus. But there was another thing that rendered him more generally obnoxious, and that was the reformation he introduced in point of luxury. It was impossible for him to begin his attack upon it openly, because the whole body of the people was infected, and therefore he took an indirect method. He caused an estimate to be taken of all apparel, carriages, female ornaments, furniture and utensils; and whatever exceeded fifteen hundred drachmas in value, he rated at ten times as much, and imposed a tax according to that valuation. For every thousand ases he made them pay three; that finding themselves burdened with the tax, while the modest and frugal, with equal substance, paid much less to the public, they might be induced to retrench their appearance. This procured him many enemies, not only among those who, rather than part with their luxury, submitted to the tax, but among those who lessened the expense of their figure to avoid it. For the generality of mankind think that prohibition to show their wealth is the same thing as taking it away, and that opulence is seen in the superfluities, not in the necessities of life. And this (we are told) was what surprised Aristo, the philosopher; for he could not comprehend why those that are possessed of superfluities should be accounted happy, rather than such as abound in what is necessary and useful. But Scopas the Thessalian, when one of his friends asked him for something that could be of little

use to him, and gave him that as a reason why he should grant his request, made answer, "It is in these useless and superfluous things that I am rich and happy." Thus the desire of wealth, far from being a natural passion, is a foreign and adventitious one, arising from vulgar opinion.

Cato paid no regard to these complaints, but became still more severe and rigid. He cut off the pipes by which people conveyed water from the public fountains into their houses and gardens, and demolished all the buildings that projected out into the streets. He lowered the price of public works, and farmed out the public revenues at the highest rent they could bear. By these things he brought upon himself the hatred of vast numbers of people; so that Titus Flaminius and his party attacked him, and prevailed with the senate to annul the contracts he had made for repairing the temples and public buildings, as detrimental to the state. Nor did they stop here, but incited the boldest of the tribunes to accuse him to the people, and fine him two talents. They likewise opposed him very much in his building, at the public charge, a hall below the senate-house by the forum, which he finished notwithstanding, and called the Porcian hall.

The people, however, appear to have been highly pleased with his behaviour in this office. For when they erected his statue in the temple of Health, they made no mention on the pedestal of his victories and his triumph, but the inscription was to this effect: "In honour of Cato the censor, who, when the Roman commonwealth was degenerating into licentiousness, by good discipline and wise institutions restored it."

Before this he laughed at those who were fond of such honours, and said, "They were not aware that they

plumed themselves upon the workmanship of founders, statuaries, and painters, while the Romans bore about a more glorious image of him in their hearts." And to those that expressed their wonder, that while many persons of little note had their statues, Cato had none, he said, "He had much rather it should be asked, why he had not a statue, than why he had one." In short, he was of opinion that a good citizen should not even accept of his due praise, unless it tended to the advantage of the community. Yet of all men he was the most forward to commend himself; for he tells us, that those who were guilty of misdemeanours, and afterwards reproved for them, used to say, "That they were excusable; they were not Catos;" and that such as imitated some of his actions, but did it awkwardly, were left-handed Catos. He adds, "That the senate, in difficult and dangerous times, used to cast their eyes upon him, as passengers in a ship do upon the pilot in a storm;" and "That when he happened to be absent, they frequently put off the consideration of matters of importance." These particulars, indeed, are confirmed by other writers; for his life, his eloquence, and his age, gave him great authority in Rome.

He was a good father, a good husband, and an excellent economist. And as he did not think the care of his family a mean and trifling thing, which required only a superficial attention, it may be of use to give some account of his conduct in that respect.

He chose his wife rather for her family than her fortune; persuaded that though both the rich and the high born have their pride, yet women of good families are more ashamed of any base and unworthy action, and more obedient to their husbands in everything that is good and honourable. He used to say, that they who

beat their wives or children, laid their sacrilegious hands on the most sacred things in the world ; and that he preferred the character of a good husband to that of a great senator. And he admired nothing more in Socrates, than his living in an easy and quiet manner with an ill-tempered wife and stupid children. When he had a son born, no business, however urgent, except it related to the public, could hinder him from being present while his wife washed and swaddled the infant. For she suckled it herself ; nay, she often gave the breast to the sons of her servants, to inspire them with a brotherly regard for her own.

As soon as the dawn of understanding appeared, Cato took upon him the office of schoolmaster to his son, though he had a slave named Chilo, who was a good grammarian, and taught several other children. But he tells us he did not choose that his son should be reprimanded by a slave, or pulled by the ears, if he happened to be slow in learning ; or that he should be indebted to so mean a person for his education. He was, therefore, himself his preceptor in grammar, in law, and in the necessary exercises. For he taught him not only how to throw a dart, to fight hand to hand, and to ride, but to box, to endure heat and cold, and to swim the most rapid rivers. He further acquaints us that he wrote histories for him with his own hand, in large characters, that without stirring out of his father's house he might gain a knowledge of the great actions of the ancient Romans and of the customs of his country. He was as careful not to utter an indecent word before his son as he would have been in the presence of the vestal virgins ; nor did he ever bathe with him. A regard to decency in this respect was indeed at that time general among the Romans, for even sons-in-law avoided bathing with their fathers-in-law, not choosing to appear

naked before them ; but afterwards the Greeks taught them not to be so scrupulous in uncovering themselves, and they in their turn taught the Greeks to bathe naked, even before the women.

While Cato was taking such excellent measures for forming his son to virtue, he found him naturally ductile both in genius and inclination ; but as his body was too weak to undergo much hardship, his father was obliged to relax the severity of his discipline, and to indulge him a little in point of diet. Yet, with this constitution, he was an excellent soldier, and particularly distinguished himself under Paulus Æmilius in the battle against Perseus. On this occasion, his sword happening to be struck from his hand, the moisture of which prevented him from grasping it firmly, he turned to some of his companions with great concern, and begged their assistance in recovering it. He then rushed with them into the midst of the enemy, and having, with extraordinary efforts, cleared the place where the sword was lost, he found it, with much difficulty, under heaps of arms and dead bodies of friends, as well as enemies, piled upon each other. Paulus Æmilius admired this gallant action of the young man ; and there is a letter still extant, written by Cato to his son, in which he extremely commends his high sense of honour expressed in the recovery of that sword. The young man afterwards married Tertia, daughter to Paulus Æmilius, and sister to young Scipio ; the honour of which alliance was as much owing to his own as to his father's merit. Thus Cato's care in the education of his son answered the end proposed.

He had many slaves, which he purchased among the captives taken in war, always choosing the youngest and such as were most capable of instruction, like whelps or colts that may be trained at pleasure. None of these

slaves ever went into any other man's house, except they were sent by Cato or his wife; and if any of them was asked what his master was doing, he always answered, he did not know. For it was a rule with Cato to have his slaves either employed in the house or asleep, and liked those best that slept the most kindly, believing that they were better tempered than others that had not so much of that refreshment, and fitter for any kind of business. And as he knew that slaves will stick at nothing to gratify their passion for women, he allowed them to have the company of his female slaves, upon paying a certain price, but under a strict prohibition of approaching any other woman.

When he was a young soldier, and as yet in low circumstances, he never found fault with anything that was served up to his table, but thought it a shame to quarrel with a servant on account of his palate. Yet afterwards, when he was possessed of an easy fortune, and made entertainments for his friends and the principal officers, as soon as dinner was over he never failed to correct with leathern thongs such of his slaves as had not given due attendance, or had suffered anything to be spoiled. He contrived means to raise quarrels among his servants, and to keep them at variance, ever suspecting and fearing some bad consequence from their unanimity. And,

When any of them were guilty of a capital crime, he gave them a formal trial, and put them to death in the presence of their fellow-servants. As his thirst after wealth increased, and he found that agriculture was rather amusing than profitable, he turned his thoughts to surer dependencies, and employed his money in purchasing ponds, hot-baths, places proper for fullers, and estates in good condition, having pasture ground and woodlands. From these he had a great revenue, "such a one," he

used to say, "as Jupiter himself could not disappoint him of."

He practised usury upon ships in the most blamable manner. His method was to insist that those whom he furnished with money should take a great number into partnership. When there were full fifty of them, and as many ships, he demanded one share for himself, which he managed by Quintio, his freed-man, who sailed and trafficked along with them. Thus, though his gain was great, he did not risk his capital, but only a small part of it.

He likewise lent money to such of his slaves as chose it; and they employed it in purchasing boys, who were afterwards instructed and fitted for service at Cato's expense; and being sold at the year's end by auction, Cato took several of them himself, at the price of the highest bidder, deducting it out of what he had lent. To incline his son to the same economy, he told him, "That to diminish his substance was not the part of a man, but of a widow-woman." Yet he carried the thing to extravagance when he hazarded this assertion, "That the man truly wonderful and godlike, and fit to be registered in the lists of glory, was he, by whose accounts it should at last appear that he had more than doubled what he had received from his ancestors."

When Cato was very far advanced in years, there arrived at Rome two ambassadors from Athens—Carneades the academic, and Diogenes the stoic. They were sent to beg off a fine of five hundred talents which had been imposed on the Athenians for contumacy by the Sicyonians at the suit of the people of Oropus. Upon the arrival of these philosophers, such of the Roman youth as had a taste for learning went to wait on them, and heard them with wonder and delight. Above all they were charmed

with the graceful manners of Carneades, the force of whose eloquence being great, and his reputation equal to his eloquence, had drawn an audience of the most considerable and the politest persons in Rome: and the sound of his fame, like a mighty wind, had filled the whole city. The report ran that there was come from Greece a man of astonishing powers, whose eloquence, more than human, was able to soften and disarm the fiercest passions, and who had made so strong an impression upon the youth, that, forgetting all other pleasures and diversions, they were quite possessed with an enthusiastic love of philosophy.

The Romans were delighted to find it so; nor could they, without uncommon pleasure, behold their sons thus fondly receive the Grecian literature, and follow these wonderful men. But Cato, from the beginning, was alarmed at it. He no sooner perceived this passion for the Grecian learning prevail, but he was afraid that the youth would turn their ambition that way, and prefer the glory of eloquence to that of deeds of arms. But when he found that the reputation of these philosophers rose still higher, and their first speeches were translated into Latin, by Caius Acilius, a senator of great distinction, who had earnestly begged the favour of interpreting them, he had no longer patience, but resolved to dismiss these philosophers upon some decent and specious pretence.

He went, therefore, to the senate, and complained of the magistrates for detaining so long such ambassadors as those, who could persuade the people to whatever they pleased. "You ought," said he, "to determine their affair as speedily as possible, that returning to their schools they may hold forth to the Grecian youth, and that our young men may again give attention to the laws and the magistrates." Not that Cato was induced to this by any

particular pique to Carneades, which some suppose to have been the case, but by his aversion to philosophy, and his making it a point to show his contempt of the polite studies and learning of the Greeks. Nay, he scrupled not to affirm, "That Socrates himself was a prating seditious fellow, who used his utmost endeavours to tyrannise over his country, by abolishing its customs, and drawing the people over to opinions contrary to the laws." And, to ridicule the slow methods of Isocrates's teaching, he said, "His scholars grew old in learning their art, as if they intended to exercise it in the shades below, and to plead causes there." And to dissuade his son from those studies, he told him in a louder tone than could be expected from a man of his age, and, as it were, in an oracular and prophetic way, "That when the Romans came thoroughly to imbibe the Grecian literature, they would lose the empire of the world." But time has shown the vanity of that invidious assertion ; for Rome was never at a higher pitch of greatness than when she was most perfect in the Grecian erudition, and most attentive to all manner of learning.

Nor was Cato an enemy to the Grecian philosophers only, but looked upon the physicians also with a suspicious eye. He had heard, it seems, of the answer which Hippocrates gave the king of Persia when he sent for him, and offered him a reward of many talents, "I will never make use of my art in favour of barbarians who are enemies to the Greeks." This he had said was an oath which all the physicians had taken, and therefore he advised his son to beware of them all. He added, that he himself had written a little treatise, in which he had set down his method of cure, and the regimen he prescribed, when any of his family were sick ; that he never recommended fasting, but allowed them herbs, with duck,

pigeon, or hare : such kind of diet being light and suitable for sick people, having no other inconvenience but its making them dream ; and that with these remedies and this regimen, he preserved himself and his family. But his self-sufficiency in this respect went not unpunished ; for he lost both his wife and son. He himself, indeed, by his strong make, and good habit of body, lasted long, so that even in old age he frequently indulged his inclination for the sex, and at an unseasonable time of life married a young woman. It was on the following pretence.

After the death of his wife, he married his son to the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, the sister of Scipio, and continued a widower, but had a young female slave that came privately to his bed. It could not, however, be long a secret in a small house, with a daughter-in-law in it ; and one day as the favourite slave passed by with a haughty and flaunting air, to go to the censor's chamber, young Cato gave her a severe look, and turned his back upon her, but said not a word. The old man was soon informed of this circumstance, and finding that this kind of commerce displeased his son and his daughter-in-law, he did not expostulate with them, nor take the least notice. Next morning he went to the forum, according to custom, with his friends about him ; and as he went along, he called aloud to one Salonius, who had been his secretary, and now was one of his train, and asked him " Whether he had provided a husband for his daughter ? " Upon his answering—" That he had not, nor should without consulting his best friend," Cato said, why then I have found out a very fit husband for her, if she can bear with the disparity of age : for in other respects he is unexceptionable, but he is very old." Salonius replying, " That he left the disposal of her entirely to him, for

she was under his protection, and had no dependence but upon his bounty ;" Cato said, without further ceremony, " Then I will be your son-in-law." The man at first was astonished at the proposal, as may easily be imagined ; believing Cato past the time of life of marrying, and knowing himself far beneath an alliance with a family that had been honoured with the consulate and a triumph. But when he saw that Cato was in earnest, he embraced the offer with joy, and the marriage contract was signed as soon as they came to the forum.

While they were busied in preparing for the nuptials, young Cato, taking his relations with him, went and asked his father, " What offence he had committed, that he was going to put a mother-in-law upon him ?" Cato immediately answered, " Ask not such a question, my son ; for, instead of being offended, I have reason to praise your whole conduct : I am only desirous of having more such sons, and leaving more such citizens to my country." But this answer is said to have been given long before, by Pisistratus the Athenian tyrant, who, when he had had sons by a former wife already grown up, married a second, Timonassa of Argos, by whom he is said to have had two sons more, Jophon and Thessalus.

By this wife Cato had a son, whom he called Salonius, after his mother's father. As for his eldest son Cato, he died in his prætorship. His father often makes mention of him in his writings as a brave and worthy man. He bore this loss with the moderation of a philosopher, applying himself with his usual activity to affairs of state. For he did not, like Lucius Lucullus afterwards, and Metullus Pius, think age an exemption from the service of the public, but considered that service as his indispensable duty, nor yet did he act as Scipio Africanus had done, who, finding himself attacked and opposed by

envy in his course of glory, quitted the administration, and spent the remainder of his days in retirement and inaction. But, as one told Dionysius, that the most honourable death was to die in possession of sovereign power, so Cato esteemed that the most honourable old age which was spent in serving the commonwealth. The amusements in which he passed his leisure hours, were the writing of books and tilling the ground, and this is the reason of our having so many treatises on various subjects, and histories of his composing.

In his younger days he applied himself to agriculture, with a view to profit; for he used to say, he had only two ways of increasing his income, labour and parsimony; but as he grew old, he regarded it only by way of theory and amusement. He wrote a book concerning country affairs, in which, among other things, he gives rules for making cakes and preserving fruit: for he was desirous to be thought curious and particular in everything. He kept a better table in the country than in the town; for he always invited some of his acquaintance in the neighbourhood to sup with him. With these he passed the time in cheerful conversation, making himself agreeable not only to those of his own age, but to the young; for he had a thorough knowledge of the world, and had either seen himself, or heard from others, a variety of things that were curious and entertaining. He looked upon the table as one of the best means of forming friendships: and at his, the conversation generally turned upon the praises of great and excellent men among the Romans: as for the bad and the unworthy, no mention was made of them, for he would not allow in his company one word, either good or bad, to be said of such kind of men.

The last service he is said to have done the public, was the destruction of Carthage. The younger Scipio indeed

gave the finishing stroke to that work, but it was undertaken chiefly by the advice and at the instances of Cato. The occasion of the war was this :—The Carthaginians and Massinissa, king of Numidia, being at war with each other, Cato was sent into Africa, to inquire into the causes of the quarrel. Massinissa from the first had been a friend to the Romans, and the Carthaginians were admitted into their alliance after the great overthrow they received from Scipio the elder, but upon terms which deprived them of great part of their dominions, and imposed a heavy tribute. When Cato arrived at Carthage, he found that city not in the exhausted and humble condition which the Romans imagined, but full of men fit to bear arms, abounding in money, in arms, and warlike stores, and not a little elated in the thought of its being so well provided. He [concluded, therefore, that it was now time for the Romans to endeavour to settle the points in dispute between the Numidians and Carthage ; and that, if they did not soon make themselves masters of that city, which was their old enemy, and retained strong resentments of the usage she had lately received, and which had not only recovered herself after her losses, but was prodigiously increased in wealth and power, they would soon be [exposed to all their former dangers. For this reason he returned in all haste to Rome, where he informed the senate, “That the defeats and other misfortunes which had happened to the Carthaginians, had not so much drained them of their forces, as cured them of their folly ; and that, in all probability, instead of a weaker, they had made them a more skilful and warlike enemy : that their war with the Numidians was only a prelude to future combats with the Romans ; and that the late peace was a mere name, for they considered it only as a suspension of arms, which they were willing to avail

themselves of, till they had a favourable opportunity to renew the war."

It is said, that at the conclusion of his speech he shook the lap of his gown, and purposely dropped some Libyan figs ; and when he found the senators admired them for their size and beauty, he told them, "That the country where they grew was but three days' sail from Rome." But what is a stronger instance of his enmity to Carthage, he never gave his opinion in the senate upon any other point whatever, without adding these words—"And my opinion is that Carthage should be destroyed." Scipio, surnamed Nasica, made it a point to maintain the contrary, and concluded all his speeches thus, "And my opinion is that Carthage should be left standing." It is very likely that this great man, perceiving that the people were come to such a pitch of insolence, as to be led by it into the greatest excesses (so that in the pride of prosperity they could not be restrained by the senate, but by their overgrown power were able to draw the government what way they pleased), thought it best that Carthage should remain to keep them in awe, and to moderate their presumption. For he saw that the Carthaginians were not strong enough to conquer the Romans, and yet too respectable an enemy to be despised by them. On the other hand, Cato thought it dangerous, while the people were thus inebriated and giddy with power, to suffer a city which had always been great, and which was now grown sober and wise through its misfortunes, to lie watching every advantage against them. It appeared to him, therefore, the wisest course, to have all outward dangers removed from the commonwealth, that it might be at leisure to guard against internal corruption.

Thus Cato, they tell us, occasioned the third and last war against the Carthaginians. But as soon as it began

He died, having first prophesied of the person that should put an end to it; who was then a young man, and had only a tribune's command in the army, but was giving extraordinary proofs of his conduct and valour. The news of these exploits being brought to Rome, Cato cried out,

—————He is the soul of council;
The rest are shadows vain.

This Scipio soon confirmed by his actions.

Cato left one son by his second wife, who, as we have already observed, was surnamed Salonius, and a grandson by the son of his first wife, who died before him. Salonius died in his prætorship, leaving a son named Marcus, who came to be consul, and was grandfather to Cato the philosopher, the best and most illustrious man of his time.

ARISTIDES AND CATO COMPARED.

HAVING thus given a detail of the most memorable actions of these great men, if we compare the whole life of the one with that of the other, it will not be easy to discern the difference between them, the eye being attracted by so many striking resemblances. But if we examine the several parts of their lives distinctly, as we do a poem or a picture, we shall find, in the first place, this common to them both, that they rose to high stations and great honour in their respective commonwealths, not by the help of family connections, but merely by their own virtue and abilities. It is true, that when Aristides raised himself, Athens was not in her grandeur, and the demagogues and chief magistrates he had to deal with were men of moderate and nearly equal fortunes. For estates

of the highest class were then only five hundred medimni ; of those of the second order, who were knights, three hundred ; and those of the third order, who were called Zeugitæ, two hundred. But Cato, from a little village and a country life, launched into the Roman government, as into a boundless ocean, at a time when it was not conducted by the Curii, the Fabricii and Hostilii, nor received for its magistrates and orators men of narrow circumstances who worked with their own hands, from the plough and the spade, but was accustomed to regard greatness of family, opulence, distributions among the people, and servility in courting their favour ; for the Romans, elated with their power and importance, loved to humble those who stood for the great offices of state. It was not the same thing to be rivalled by a Themistocles, who was neither distinguished by birth nor fortune (for he is said not to have been worth more than three, or, at the most, five talents, when he first applied himself to public affairs), as to have to contest with a Scipio Africanus, a Servius Galba, or a Quintius Flaminius, without any other assistance or support but a tongue accustomed to speak with freedom in the cause of justice.

Besides, Aristides was only one among ten, that commanded at Marathon and Plataea ; whereas Cato was chosen one of the two consuls, from a number of competitors, and one of the two censors, though opposed by seven candidates, who were some of the greatest and most illustrious men in Rome.

It should be observed, too, that Aristides was never principal in any action ; for Miltiades had the chief honour of the victory at Marathon ; Themistocles of that at Salamis ; and the palm of the important day at Plataea, as Herodotus tells us, was adjudged to Pausanias. Nay,

even the second place was disputed with Aristides by Sophanes, Aminias, Callimachus, and Cynægirus, who greatly distinguished themselves on that occasion.

On the other hand, Cato not only stood first in courage and conduct, during his own consulate, and in the war with Spain ; but when he acted at Thermopylæ only as a tribune, under the auspices of another, he gained the glory of the victory ; for he it was that unlocked the pass for the Romans to rush upon Antiochus, and that brought the war upon the back of the king, who minded only what was before him. That victory, which was manifestly the work of Cato, drove Asia out of Greece, and opened the passage for Scipio to that continent afterwards.

Both of them were equally victorious in war, but Aristides miscarried in the administration, being banished and oppressed by the faction of Themistocles ; whilst Cato, though he had for antagonists almost all the greatest and most powerful men in Rome, who kept contending with him even in his old age, like a skilful wrestler, always held his footing. Often impeached before the people, and often the manager of an impeachment, he generally succeeded in his prosecution of others, and was never condemned himself ; secure in that bulwark of life, the defensive and offensive armour of eloquence ; and to this, much more justly than to fortune, or his guardian genius, we may ascribe his maintaining his dignity unblemished to the last ; for Antipater bestowed the same encomium upon Aristotle the philosopher, in what he wrote concerning him after his death, that, among his other qualities, he had the very extraordinary one, of persuading people to whatever he pleased.

That the art of governing cities and commonwealths is the chief excellence of man admits not of a doubt ; and it is generally agreed, that the art of governing a family is

no small ingredient in that excellence. For a city, which is only a collection of families, cannot be prosperous in the whole, unless the families that compose it, be flourishing and prosperous. And Lyeurgus, when he banished gold and silver out of Sparta, and gave the citizens, instead of it, money made of iron, that had been spoiled by the fire, did not design to excuse them from attending to economy, but only to prevent luxury, which is a tumour and inflammation caused by riches ; that every one might have the greater plenty of the necessities and conveniences of life. By this establishment of his, it appears, that he saw farther than any other legislator, since he was sensible that every society has more to apprehend from its needy members than from the rich. For this reason, Cato was no less attentive to the management of his domestic concerns than to that of public affairs ; and he not only increased his own estate, but became a guide to others in economy and agriculture, concerning which he collected many useful rules.

But Aristides, by his indigence, brought a disgrace upon justice itself, as if it were the ruin and impoverishment of families, and a quality that is profitable to any one rather than the owner. Hesiod, however, has said a good deal to exhort us both to justice and economy, and inveighs against idleness as the source of injustice. The same is well represented by Homer :—

The culture of the field, which fills the stores
With happy harvests ; and domestic cares,
Which rear the smiling progeny, no charms
Could boast for me ; 'twas mine to sail
The gallant ship, to sound the trumpet of war,
To point the polished spear, and hurl the quivering lance.

By which the poet intimates, that those who neglect their own affairs generally support themselves by violence and

injustice. For what the physicians say of oil, that used outwardly it is beneficial, but pernicious when taken inwardly, is not applicable to the just man ; nor is it true, that he is useful to others, and unprofitable to himself and his family. The politics of Aristides, seem, therefore, to have been defective in this respect, if it is true (as most writers assert) that he left not enough either for the portions of his daughters, or for the expenses of his funeral.

Thus Cato's family produced prætors and consuls to the fourth generation ; for his grandsons and their children bore the highest offices ; whereas, though Aristides was one of the greatest men in Greece, yet the most distressful poverty prevailing among his descendants, some of them were forced so get their bread by showing tricks of sleight of hand, or telling fortunes, and others, to receive public alms, and not one of them entertained a sentiment worthy of their illustrious ancestor.

It is true, this point is liable to some dispute ; for poverty is not dishonourable in itself, but only when it is the effect of idleness, intemperance, prodigality, and folly. And when, on the contrary, it is associated with all the virtues, in the sober, the industrious, the just, and valiant statesman, it speaks a great and elevated mind. For an attention to little things renders it impossible to do anything that is great ; nor can he provide for the wants of others, whose own are numerous and craving. The great and necessary provision for a statesman is, not riches, but a contented mind, which requiring no superfluities for itself, leaves a man at full liberty to serve the commonwealth. God is absolutely exempt from wants ; and the virtuous man, in proportion as he reduces his wants, approaches nearer to the Divine Perfection. For as a body well built for health needs nothing exquisite, either in food or clothing, so a rational way of living, and

a well-governed family, demands a very moderate support. Our possessions, indeed, should be proportioned to the use we make of them ; he that amasses a great deal, and uses but little, is far from being satisfied and happy in his abundance ; for if, while he is solicitous to increase it, he has no desire of those things which wealth can procure, he is foolish ; if he does desire them, and yet out of meanness of spirit will not allow himself in their enjoyment, he is miserable.

I would fain ask Cato himself this question. "If riches are to be enjoyed, why, when possessed of a great deal did he plume himself upon being satisfied with a little?" If it be a commendable thing, as indeed it is, to be contented with coarse bread, and such wine as our servants and labouring people drink, and not to covet purple and elegantly plastered houses, then Aristides, Epaminondas, Manius Curius, and Caius Fabricius were perfectly right, in neglecting to acquire what they did not think proper to use. For it was by no means necessary for a man who, like Cato, could make a delicious meal on turnips, and loved to boil them himself, while his wife baked the bread, to talk so much about a farthing, and to write by what means a man might soonest grow rich. Indeed, simplicity and frugality are then only great things, when they free the mind from the desire of superfluities and the anxieties of care. Hence it was that Aristides, in the trial of Callias, said, "It was fit for none to be ashamed of poverty, but those that were poor against their wills ; and that they who, like him, were poor out of choice, might glory in it." For it is ridiculous to suppose that the poverty of Aristides was to be imputed to sloth, since he might, without being guilty of the least baseness, have raised himself to opulence, by the spoil of one barbarian, or the plunder of one tent. But enough of this.

As to the military achievements, those of Cato added but little to the Roman empire, which was already very great ; whereas the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, the most glorious and important actions of the Greeks, are numbered among those of Aristides. And surely Antiochus is not worthy to be mentioned with Xerxes, nor the demolishing of the walls of the Spanish towns, with the destruction of so many thousands of barbarians both by sea and land. On these great occasions Aristides was inferior to none in real service, but he left the glory and the laurels, as he did the wealth, to others who had more need of them, because he was above them.

I do not blame Cato for perpetually boasting and giving himself the preference to others, though in one of his pieces, he says, "It is absurd for a man either to commend or depreciate himself ; but I think the man who is often praising himself not so complete in virtue as the modest man who does not even want others to praise him. For modesty is a very proper ingredient in the mild and engaging manner necessary for a statesman ; on the other hand, he who demands any extraordinary respect is difficult to please, and liable to envy. Cato was very subject to this fault, and Aristides entirely free from it. For Aristides, by co-operating with his enemy Themistocles in his greatest actions, and being as it were a guard to him, while he had the command, restored the affairs of Athens ; whereas Cato, by counteracting Scipio, had well nigh blasted and ruined that expedition of his against Carthage, which brought down Hannibal, who till then was invincible. He continued to raise suspicions against him, and to persecute him with calumnies, till at last he drove him out of Rome, and got his brother stigmatised with the shameful crime of embezzling the public money.

As for temperance, which Cato always extolled as the greatest of virtues, Aristides preserved it in its utmost purity and perfection ; while Cato, by marrying so much beneath himself, and at an unseasonable time of life, stood justly impeached in that respect. For it was by no means decent, at his great age, to bring home to his son and daughter-in-law a young wife, the daughter of his secretary, a man who received wages of the public. Whether he did it merely to gratify his appetite, or to revenge the affront which his son put upon his favourite slave, both the cause and the thing were dishonourable. And the reason which he gave to his son was ironical and groundless. For if he was desirous of having more children like him, he should have looked out before for some woman of family, and not have put off the thoughts of marrying again, till his commerce with so mean a creature was discovered : and when it was discovered, he ought to have chosen for his father-in-law, not the man who would most readily accept his proposals, but one whose alliance would have done him the most honour.

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